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A POLITICAL HISTORY OF CONTEMPORARY EUROPE

SINCE 1814

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SINCE 1814

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF

CHARLES SEIGNOBOS

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

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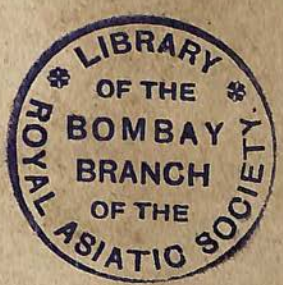
IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.



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PREFACE.

In publishing a contemporary history of Europe in compact form, I feel obliged to justify an enterprise so palpably rash.

I shall not stop to point out the advantage of presenting in a sketch the history necessary to a better understanding of the world in which we live. The question is, not whether this history be worth reading, but whether it can be written. I shall, therefore, frankly set forth the difficulties of the task, the solutions or expedients which I have adopted, and the sacrifices which I have been obliged to make. I hope thus to show why this bold attempt has seemed to me practicable, on condition that I yield to practical necessities; also to show how these necessities have controlled the object, the method, and the plan of this work.

The greatest obstacle to the writing of the history of the nineteenth century is the overwhelming supply of materials. The rigorous historical method demands the direct study of the sources. Now, the life of one man would not be long enough—I do not say to study or to criticise—but *to read* the official documents of even a single country of Europe. It is therefore, in the nature of things, impossible to write a contemporary history of Europe that shall conform to scientific principles. So the professional historians, judging their method to be inapplicable to the study of the nineteenth century, have abstained from dealing with this period. And so the reading public is ignorant of contemporary history because the learned have too copious means of learning it.

It has seemed to me possible to relax the rigour of critical method, and to substitute for direct study of the documents a procedure, less perfect logically, but more practicable and at the same time sufficient for attaining a part at least of true history. All the facts of the political history of our own times have been set forth in monographs, special histories, and annual publications, all made at first hand. The extracts and analyses given in these works suffice to exhibit the facts with sufficient clearness to enable us to dispense ordinarily with a study of the original docu-

ment. The exactness and authenticity of contemporary documents lessen greatly the need of criticism. Finally the similarity of the works written in different countries on the same questions, renders control easy—on condition of bringing to the choice and study of these works the severe criticism that one would apply to the sources.

The second difficulty for the historian is the impossibility of citing his evidences. It is a very essential rule of the historical method that every statement be supported by reference to the sources on which it rests. Now in contemporary history the number of documents is such that the regular method of citation has to be abandoned. But this sacrifice too is excusable. The general facts emerge from the reading of the documents with so great clearness and certainty, that it is sufficient to indicate the works in which the proofs are given. I have therefore thought myself justified in omitting references at the foot of each page and in confining myself to a critical bibliography at the end of the chapters.

In the bibliography also I have had to adopt a practical device instead of the regular method. A bibliography of contemporary history, made according to the rules of erudition, would fill a volume. I have had to confine myself to what is indispensable. My rule has been to name only those bibliographies and general histories which serve as guides to the detailed works, the great collections of documents and the most trustworthy and convenient monographs on every question, so that the reader might test my statements by recurring to the works on which I have relied.

This summary method of reading and citation compelled me to restrict my narrative to the general facts of political life, known to all concerned and admitted without dispute. But it is just these undisputed facts which constitute the matter of political history. So I have not tried to establish any disputed fact, nor to discover any unknown one. It is by bringing together the general facts already known, but remaining scattered, that new conclusions have, as I think, been reached.

By confining myself to setting forth results that nobody would dream of disputing, I have had to deny myself all erudite research and all discussion of particular facts subject to controversy, for I should have had to advance statements whereof I could not find space to give the proofs. I have had, then, to renounce not only all argument and discussion of other works, but also all attempts

at full narrative, all descriptions, character-sketches, and anecdotes—such things being nearly always matters of dispute. From this rule I have departed only in the case of certain transactions which had great consequences. Even in these cases I have told only the decisive episodes, as to which there is no conflict of testimony in the authorities.

Having thus cut myself off from all chance for literary display and the use of learned apparatus, I have avoided the two kinds of histories to which the historians have accustomed the public—the narrative history and the erudite history. My aim has been to enable my readers to comprehend the essential phenomena of the political life of Europe in the nineteenth century by explaining the organization of the nations, governments, and parties, the political questions which have arisen in the course of the century, and the solutions they have received. I have tried to write an *explanatory* history.

The date for beginning fixes itself readily; it is the year 1814—the year of the general restoration of the old governments of Europe. As to the date for closing, I have purposely avoided the adoption of any, in order to reserve the right of following the development of political life into the most recent events.

The task in hand, then, is to explain the political transformations of contemporary Europe during this period of eighty years. Being unable to deal with the whole movement of European civilization within the period, I have purposely confined myself to the political history. I have avoided all social phenomena that have had no direct effect on political life: art, science, literature, religion, private manners, and customs. I have sought chiefly to make clear the formation, composition, tactics, and policies of the parties, as being the capital facts determining the fate of institutions. But I have not thought it possible to limit political history to an account of strictly political events and institutions. Aiming above all to *explain* the phenomena by showing how they are connected with each other, I have reserved room for some non-political facts: local administration, the army, the church, the schools, the press, political theories, economic systems—in all cases in which they have reacted on political life.

Having settled the choice of facts, it remained to classify them. Here comes another difficulty of contemporary history. There are three possible orders of proceeding: 1st, the *logical* order, which consists in analyzing the political organization of European states, studying it as a whole in all the states, taking suc-

cessively each of the institutions (central government, army, finances, justice, etc.); 2d, the *chronological* order which consists in dividing the whole into periods, treating each period in succession; 3d, the *geographical* order, which takes up one country at a time and finishes its history before passing to another.

The logical order is best for bringing out the features common to all the nations and the features peculiar to each. The chronological order is most convenient for presenting transactions common to several countries and the reciprocal action of state on state. The geographical order gives opportunity to explain more clearly the political organization and special evolution of each people; for in contemporary Europe each country coincides with a society subject to the same political system and worked upon by the same causes.

Thus each of the three methods has advantages for treating one of the aspects of contemporary evolution: if I adopted one of them, to the exclusion of the others, I should run a risk of falling into confusion in parts of my undertaking. I have therefore used all three methods successively, grouping the facts of contemporary history in three successive parts.

The first part is taken up with the domestic political history of the European states; in this I follow the geographical order. After a summary description of Europe in 1814, as fashioned by the territorial restorations of the Congress of Vienna, I study separately and successively the internal history of each state. I have arranged the countries roughly in the order of seniority in the development of public life. At the head I have placed England, which furnished the model of political organization for all Europe; then France and her most advanced neighbours, the Netherlands and Switzerland; then the Iberian countries; following these the states of central Europe, Italy, Germany, and Austria, and the Scandinavian countries; finally the group of eastern states, Ottoman and Russian, which have longest retained the political forms of the eighteenth century. This part takes the natural form of a series of national histories, placed side by side but wholly independent of each other.

In the second part, constructed according to the logical order, I have grouped certain political phenomena common to various European communities; I have considered them apart from the evolution of each people in order to bring out their universal character. The matters treated in this part are the changes in the material conditions of political life and the action of parties

that are not limited by national boundaries—the Catholics and the revolutionary Socialists.

The third part is given up to the external relations between the states. Here the facts are presented by periods, following the chronological order. Each period is marked by the preponderance of one of the great powers—Austria, England, Russia, France, Germany. The aim has been, not to relate the diplomatic and military achievements the details of which are already familiar, but to note for each period the chief features of the foreign policy of the principal governments, and to explain the changes in the relations between states and in the distribution of territory and influence.

The question of style has been for me a matter of some concern. The work being intended as a scientific manual, its language needed to be brief, clear, and exact. Practical necessity compelled me to aim above all at brevity,—sometimes, I fear, to the point of obscurity,—but I have never sacrificed clearness to elegance. Whenever a word already used appeared to me to make the phrase clearer, I have never hesitated to repeat it. As between two terms I have always chosen the most familiar as being the easiest to understand; I have avoided metaphors which dazzle without enlightening. Much time has been spent in seeking the expression that seemed likely to call for least effort on the part of the reader.

Precision has been harder to attain. History is still so rudimentary a science—if a science it may be called—that it has no vocabulary of technical terms. To designate political phenomena, the historians have borrowed from the vocabulary of jurists and philosophers abstract terms which have now become part of the language of history. These terms have but vague notions to rest on, owing to our ignorance of the real nature of political phenomena; but they give the vagueness an appearance of technical precision. It has seemed to me more straightforward to give the popular name to popular notions. So I have avoided abstract nouns—such as royalty, the Church, elements, tendencies—which so easily come to seem mystic forces. When I have had to describe the acts or ideas of groups of men, I have always designated the group either by its national, party, or class name, or by a collective noun,—such as government, ministry, clergy,—so that the reader may be able to discover, behind this name, the men who have acted or thought.

As regards impartiality in political and national questions, I

shall not do my readers and myself the wrong of claiming as a merit that which is the duty of every historian. Having adopted the tone of a scientific treatise, I have had no occasion for display of personal feelings toward any party or nation. I have indeed a preference for a liberal, unclerical, democratic, Western government; but I have a conscience too, and it has saved me, as I think, from the temptation to distort or ignore phenomena that are personally distasteful to me. If I am deceived in this, the reader is aware of the direction in which it is possible that I have had a leaning.

It may perhaps be thought that I have given too large space to the short periods of revolution, to the detriment of the long periods of conservation. The justification is that I have tried to write an *explanatory history of political evolution.* Now, conservative repose being the normal condition of humanity, it has no need of explanation; and when a system goes on without change, it is enough to describe it once for all. Revolution being exceptional, it cannot be understood without a somewhat full account of the exceptional circumstances that gave rise to it; and since it changes the organization of society, it makes a new description necessary.

There is no general bibliography of European history. The student must look for the bibliographical notices in the universal bibliographies, the national bibliographies, and the collections of the bibliographies of periods, a list of which is given in chap. v., Langlois, "Manuel de Bibliographie Historique," 1896.

The leading collection of the documents common to all Europe is the "Staatsarchiv," published from time to time since 1861. According to its own sub-title "Collection of official acts for contemporary history," it contains official documents, especially for diplomacy.*

The account of political events in Europe is given each year in the form of annual publications, which also contain official documents. The chief of these are:

In English, the "Annual Register," which has appeared since the eighteenth century.

In French, the "Annuaire Historique Universel," from 1818 to 1861; "Annuaire des Deux-Mondes," from 1850 to 1870; "L'Année Politique," since 1874.

* The "Staatsarchiv" had been preceded by similar collections: "Archives Diplomatiques," 1821; "Neueste Staatsakten," 1825. These do not, however, form a continued series.

In German, Schulthess, "Europaeischer Geschichtskalender," since 1860, the most complete of all.

On the general contemporary history of Europe there are no scientific works except in German. These are of two classes, general histories and collections of special histories.

The general histories are: Gervinus, "Geschichte des XIX^ten^ Jahrhunderts," 8 vols., 1855-56, a famous literary work in its day but unreliable, stops before 1830 (translated into French, under the title "Hist. du XIX^e^ Siècle"). C. Bulle, "Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit" (the 1886 edition in four volumes goes as far as 1885), the most exact of the contemporary histories, but without references to authorities and without bibliographies and devoted chiefly to external history. Stern, "Geschichte Europas," vol. i., 1894, promises to be the most scientific history, but the first volume, the only one issued so far, stops at 1820.

There are two collections of contemporary histories. The "Staatengeschichte der Neuesten Zeit" is a series of histories of the different countries in several large volumes (I shall mention each in the special bibliography of each country); this is the most important collection for domestic history.

The Oncken collection of universal history, "Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen," contains a special series of modern histories since 1789, composed of histories of special periods or events (Revolution, Restoration, Second Empire, Eastern Question, Reign of William I.); it gives special attention to international affairs. In French the modern histories are nothing but school-books.* The Alcan collection, "Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine," includes several histories of separate countries, most of them general sketches for popular use; they do not form a complete collection.

For political institutions the great Marquardsen collection, "Handbuch des Oeffentlichen Rechts der Gegenwart," since 1883 is a series of monographs on the constitutional law of each of the European states (unfortunately rather juridical than historical). These will be mentioned in the bibliography of each country.

For economic history the "Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften" (six volumes and a supplement, vol. vii, 1890-95) gives, in dictionary form, monographs and detailed bibliographies.

* I have thought it unnecessary to mention the German school-books, such as Jaeger.

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A POLITICAL HISTORY
OF
CONTEMPORARY EUROPE.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

EUROPE IN 1814.

Fall of Napoleon.—The contemporary history of Europe begins with a European event, the defeat of Napoleon I., who had attacked all the states, overturning their internal organization or transforming their external relations.

Directly or indirectly, every nation in Europe felt Napoleon's influence. He reigned directly over the French Empire, which comprised not only ancient France and the countries annexed by the Republic (Belgium and the Rhine Provinces), but pieces of Switzerland, one-third of Italy, the Netherlands, western Germany, and the Illyrian Provinces. On all these countries he imposed an absolute military government. He lorded it over the neighbouring states; the kingdoms of Spain, Naples, Italy, and Westphalia he gave to his relatives; on the German states, united in the Confederation of the Rhine, on Switzerland, and on Denmark he imposed treaties of offensive and defensive alliance. He had even, in 1812, compelled the two independent German monarchies, Austria and Prussia, to join him against Russia. In the end there remained outside of his power only the extremities of Europe: England, Russia, Sweden, Sicily, Portugal, and the Spanish insurgents. With all these he was at war. All Europe was thus divided into two camps: Napoleon and his enemies.

At the defeat of Napoleon, his whole territorial organization of Europe fell to pieces. In 1813 Prussia and Austria deserted him and joined his enemies. Thus was formed the union of the four great powers, officially called the Allies (England, Russia, Aus-

tria, and Prussia), which took the direction of the war, and attached to the coalition the German states and dispossessed sovereigns of Italy. The Allies concentrated their forces against Napoleon's army in Saxony; the battle of Leipzig gave them all Germany at one blow. They then offered Napoleon France with its territory of 1800 (Frankfort, November, 1813). Subsequently their three armies invaded France, and their next offer to Napoleon was the territory of 1790 (Châtillon, 1814). Finally they took Paris and decided to dethrone Napoleon (March, 1814).

All the territories annexed to France since 1790, and all the states organized by Napoleon, found themselves then without sovereigns. The Allies, now masters of Europe, assumed the right to dispose of them. Before quitting France they decided to hold at Vienna a general congress of "all the powers which had taken part in the war on either side," thus inviting all the states of Europe. But by a secret article the Allies reserved to themselves the right of settling the affairs of "the countries abandoned by France, and the arrangements necessary for establishing a permanent equilibrium," and they outlined a plan of territorial division. There remained for the congress only to register the decisions of the Allies.

The Congress of Vienna.—All the states of Europe had taken part in the war; all sent plenipotentiaries to Vienna. Ninety sovereign princes and fifty-three mediatized princes were represented. Such a large gathering of diplomats after so many years of war, and after the brilliant victory of the legitimate governments over revolutionary France, made an unusual stir in the city of Vienna; the Austrian government had established a committee on entertainments; there was a continuous round of receptions, parties, and balls.

Business was to be done in general meeting. The Allies had announced the congress to be held in June or July; later they summoned it for October 1; finally they fixed on November 1 as the date for the "formal opening of the congress." It was to begin with the submission and examination of credentials. As a matter of fact, the operation never took place, *the congress never was opened.* There was in truth no congress; there were only committees of plenipotentiaries who signed treaties between particular states. These treaties were eventually brought together in a single instrument called the final act of the Congress of Vienna (July 9, 1815).

The great powers settled the affairs of Europe and imposed

their will on the other states. The four Allies had agreed on the main points as early as May 30. The territories to be disposed of were the districts taken from France and from the various states created by Napoleon: Belgium, Holland, the left bank of the Rhine, Italy, Germany, and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. On the 30th of May they settled the distribution of those about which there was no dispute: namely, Italy, Belgium, and the left bank of the Rhine. The rest, Germany and Poland, they left over to the Congress of Vienna. At Vienna, the plenipotentiaries of the four great powers decided to come to an agreement about the reserved questions first among themselves, but to extend to the ambassadors of France and Spain the compliment of an invitation to take part in the conferences. As the English envoy said to Talleyrand, the French envoy, at the first conference, September 30, "The object of this meeting is to let you know what the four powers have been doing." They gave him the official report of their proceedings, in which they gave themselves the name of *Allies*. Talleyrand protested that this term shut out France from any share in the concert. He asked reproachfully whether they regarded themselves as still at war with France, that they should thus agree apart on terms to be imposed on her, as had been done in 1814.

Talleyrand thereupon demanded the opening of the congress according to the promise made by the Allies and the appointment of a committee to *prepare* the questions which the congress alone had the right to *decide*. His policy was to rally the little states around France in order to oppose the Allies. He succeeded in bringing about a declaration that the congress should open on the first of November, with the amendment "according to the principles of public law"; his plan being, by means of invoking international law and legitimacy or the rights of legitimate sovereigns, to prevent the Allies from making a new division of the conquered territory. "The King," he said, "will not admit that mere conquest can give sovereignty." He accordingly took under his protection the legitimate King of Saxony and refused to recognise Murat as King of Naples. He also succeeded in getting the preparatory committee made up of representatives of the four Allies and of the four other states which had signed the treaty of Paris—France, Spain, Portugal, and Sweden. But these formal concessions amounted practically to nothing; for the congress never was opened, and the four Allies alone made the settlements.

Territorial Settlements.—England kept, of her conquests, Malta, the Ionian Islands, Heligoland, and, outside of Europe, the Cape, Ceylon, and the Ile de France. Austria took the Illyrian provinces and the districts ceded to Bavaria, indemnifying Bavaria with the Palatinate on the left bank of the Rhine. In this way England and Austria were satisfied without opposition. The settlement of the Netherlands and Italy was made without discussion. Belgium was united to Holland to form the kingdom of the Netherlands, which was given to the Prince of Orange. In Italy, Austria added to the Milanese, Venetia and the Valteline; the King of Sardinia received the former republic of Genoa; the rest of the formerly existing states were re-established.

Poland and Germany now remained to be disposed of, and as to these the Allies were divided. The Tsar wished to keep the whole Grand Duchy of Warsaw, that is to say, all Prussia's share in the two partitions of Poland of 1793 and 1795. Prussia did not insist on getting back her part of Poland, preferring to be indemnified by the annexation of the Kingdom of Saxony. This she alleged might be regarded as vacant territory, for it had been conquered from Napoleon's ally, the King of Saxony, who had not had time, like the other German princes, to secure his estates by signing a treaty with the Allies. The Tsar, welcoming this solution, accused the King of Saxony of "treason to the European cause" in accepting the Grand Duchy from Napoleon. Prussia and Russia, acting together, therefore proposed to annex Saxony, compensating its King with vacant territories in Germany. But to this scheme England, and especially Austria, could not agree; it would advance the Tsar too far into Europe and give Prussia too great a power in Germany. Talleyrand, while pretending to uphold the cause of the legitimate King of Saxony against the "revolutionary" pretensions of Prussia, took advantage of the disagreement between the Allies to secure a defensive alliance between England, Austria, and France. He wrote to the King: "Now the coalition is dissolved, and forever" (January, 1815). In reality, his intervention served only to plant a Prussian army on the French frontier. The Prussian representatives would have preferred to avoid a direct contact between France and Prussia; they therefore proposed to make the left bank of the Rhine into a state for the King of Saxony. This would have been a Catholic state under a sovereign naturally

allied to France. The Tsar approved the scheme; the two other Allies refused it, and Talleyrand helped them to defeat a combination of such evident advantage to France. At last they appointed a Committee of Statistics which selected four pieces of territory to make up the indemnity for Prussia; to make up the 3,400,000 souls which were owing her, they assigned her first a province of Poland, Posen (810,000 souls); second, the left bank of the Rhine (1,044,000); third, Westphalia (829,000); fourth, a part of the Kingdom of Saxony (782,000). The Tsar kept the rest of Poland and promised to make it into a kingdom with a constitution.

The other territorial changes were made by special treaties; Sweden ceded Pomerania to Prussia, which in turn ceded Lauenburg to Denmark in exchange for Norway joined to Sweden.

Before these arrangements were completed came the news of Napoleon's return. The plenipotentiaries arranged to declare in the name of Europe that "Napoleon Bonaparte had placed himself outside the pale of civil and social relations, and as an enemy and disturber of the peace of the world, had made himself an outlaw"; they promised to protect the King of France or any other government from his attacks (March 13, 1815). They then hastened to prepare "the final act of the congress." It was signed by the eight states which had composed the "preparatory commission," and the others were "invited to give in their adhesion." They inserted a provision for the free navigation of rivers and a guarantee of the neutrality of the Netherlands and Switzerland.

After Waterloo the Allies renewed their secret conferences to decide what pledges they should take of France. They all agreed to demand military occupation, a money indemnity, and some cessions of territory. But on the extent of these cessions they could not agree. The two German states Prussia and Austria, being more directly threatened, demanded Alsace, and even Lorraine and French Flanders. England and the Tsar approved only the restitution of Savoy to the King of Sardinia and some rectifications of frontier that should deprive France of certain fortresses. Austria agreed; the King of Prussia, left alone, threatened, then yielded. Then the Allies came to an understanding on the *ultimatum* to be imposed on France (September 20). With some modifications obtained by France, this became the treaty of Paris.

At the same time the Allies made a permanent league "for

the safety of their states and the general tranquillity of Europe." They agreed to take measures in common, if revolutionary principles should again "rend France and threaten the quiet of other states."

Europe after the Settlements of 1815.—The settlements of Vienna had been made according to the diplomatic principles of the eighteenth century, the *balance of power* and the system of *compensations.* France, regarded as too powerful, was reduced to her old territory, so as to restore the *equilibrium.* The other great powers could receive only indemnities in exchange for territories ceded to other states. But two great powers were made exceptions: England kept Malta and the Ionian Isles; Russia kept Bessarabia, Finland, and Poland. Both gained by their wars against France a net increase of territory at the expense either of suppressed states (Venice and Malta) or of old allies of France (Sweden, Turkey, and Poland). Austria and Prussia received only compensations, but reckoned from their time of greatest territorial extent, that is, after the last partition of Poland. Austria received the territory of Venice to make up for the loss of her Netherlands and Salzburg to make up for the loss of her old domains in Swabia. Prussia received in place of her Polish regions, so difficult of assimilation, three purely German districts —Westphalia, Saxony, and the Rhine province; in exchange for Lauenburg she gained Swedish Pomerania. Both Austria and Prussia, therefore, found themselves with a territory, if not greater, at least more compact than in 1795. The German princes retained the territories secularized or mediatized in the time of Napoleon. The small states favoured by the Allies received increase of territory. The Prince of Orange got Belgium, and the King of Sardinia, Genoa; Switzerland, the Bernese Jura and a fragment of Savoy. These increases were made at the expense of the small states that had no reigning families, the republics of Genoa and Venice, the ecclesiastical states, the German free cities and also at the expense of two of Napoleon's allies, Saxony and Denmark. All the ecclesiastical states of Europe disappeared except that of the Pope. The Holy See protested against this decision of the lay diplomats of Vienna as it had formerly condemned the original secularizations following the Peace of Lunéville in 1803.

Thus the work of the congress was not a simple restoration; of the overturnings of the revolutionary period the Allies accepted those that pleased them, those that injured no lay prince;

and from the territories thus left vacant they carved out compensations and extensions for themselves. All these changes were made according to the practice of the eighteenth century, without consulting the inhabitants and with no thought for their interests. The diplomatists represented governments, but not peoples.

The system thus established rested, as in the eighteenth century, on the balance of power between five great powers—two western, France and England; three eastern, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Neither of these was strong enough to control Europe nor even to make war against the rest. The balance of power did indeed maintain itself for a half-century and the peace of Europe for forty years. Between the two groups was a central region divided into small states, those of Germany and of Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland, the two latter being declared neutral by the guarantee of the great powers. The house of Hapsburg controlled the two regions of small states—Italy through the Austrian possessions, Germany through the influential position of the Emperor; and, not needing extension for herself, she was interested in maintaining the small states. In the east, Russia had absorbed the territory which formerly separated her from Europe; of the old state of Poland there remained but Cracow, set up as an aristocratic republic. Sweden, despoiled of Finland and Pomerania, was confined to the Scandinavian region. The Ottoman Empire remained outside of the European system.

The restoration of the balance of power in Europe brought with it a restoration of the old governments. The states revolutionized by the French armies were given back to their former sovereigns to restore the *old régime*. Absolute monarchy became the normal form of European government. The only states where the sovereign was limited by a constitution were the constitutional monarchies of England, France, and the Netherlands, the aristocratic republics united in the Swiss Confederation, Norway, and the new Kingdom of Poland. All these constitutions still left the real power to a sovereign or a small aristocracy. But the experience of the Revolution and revolutionary ideas had, all over Europe, given to certain men a desire for a more liberal or more democratic form of government, and these political malcontents formed themselves into *liberal* parties, opposing the political systems restored in 1814. The distribution of territory at Vienna having been made regardless of the wishes of the popu-

lations concerned, certain states did not correspond to nations. Three nations, Germany, Italy, and Poland, were parcelled out between several states. One single state, Austria, united several uncongenial nations in an artificial relation. This system produced malcontents who tended to form *national* parties. The liberal and national malcontents, united ordinarily into a single opposition party, worked therefore to undo the work of the diplomats; and, as governments arrange for mutual support, so the oppositionists in each country felt themselves drawn toward those in the other countries and sought co-operation with them.

More than all the rest, the Austrian government was interested in checking these national and liberal movements, which threatened at once its interior organization and its influence in Germany; the head of the Austrian government, Metternich, became therefore naturally the leader of the resistance. He called all his opponents *revolutionists* because they invoked the principles set forth during the French Revolution, sovereignty of the people, liberty, and equality. He sums up the situation thus: "The object of these factions is one and the same, the overthrow of every legally existing institution. . . The principle which the monarchs must set against this . . . is the preservation of every legally existing institution." Between the conservative governments, masters of power, and the opposition parties, liberals, nationalists, and democrats, began in all countries the struggle which forms the political history of Europe in the nineteenth century.

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ENGLAND.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORM OF 1832.

ENGLAND in the nineteenth century has served as a political model for Europe. The English people developed the political mechanism of modern Europe, constitutional monarchy, parliamentary government, and safeguards for personal liberty. The other nations have only imitated them. The parties that distinguish the political life of the nineteenth century (conservative, liberal, radical, and socialist) were constituted in England before appearing in other countries. It is therefore natural to begin the political history with England.

ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORM BILL.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland emerged in 1814 from a long war, almost continuous since 1793, which had enlarged its colonial empire and strengthened its internal organization. The "Old England" of the eighteenth century stood firm; having had no revolution, it needed no restoration. In order to understand this "Old England" it is necessary to know the organization of the English government, the composition of English society, and the special condition of Ireland.

The public life of Great Britain centred in three groups of old institutions, so long united that they seemed inseparable: the central government, the local authorities, and the Church.

The Central Government.—The central government of England, extending since 1707 to Scotland and since 1800 to Ireland, was made up officially of three parts, the King assisted by the Privy Council, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. These were ancient bodies, whose traditional organization dates back to the fourteenth century.

The King, hereditary and inviolable, remained the legal ruler

of the kingdom. As representative of the state he made peace, war, and treaties. As fountain of justice he appointed the judges, who decreed justice in his name. As head of the government he appointed all officers, summoned Parliament, and dissolved it; his assent was necessary to the enactment of laws. He had still in law the same rights as his predecessors in the Middle Ages; and, like those, he had to assist him in governing a council whose members he appointed.

The House of Lords was still, as in the Middle Ages, made up of hereditary peers and of new peers created by the King but transmitting their title to their descendants. Its sittings were governed by ancient forms.

The House of Commons, composed of deputies chosen by long-established modes of election, was also subject to ancient forms. Both houses sat in the same place, Westminster, and together formed the *Parliament*.

The powers of the King, of the Council, and of the Parliament had been settled by usage. The English people had neither a written constitution nor had their laws been reduced to a code; and of these facts they were proud.* Precedent and tradition governed political matters, while private affairs were settled by common law. In form the King was still the sole head of the government, and everything was done in his name. Parliament was only an aid for him, and was unable even to meet without his order; the ministers were only his advisers. But three customs established in the eighteenth century had radically transformed this system.

1. The King, though invested with all the powers, exercised none of them personally. Every political act ordered by the King had to be ordered through a minister who assumed the responsibility for it. The King no longer governed; he let his ministers govern in his name.

2. The ministers did not act singly; they met in cabinet council to decide on matters of state. This meeting had no legal recognition; even to-day the term *cabinet* cannot be used in an official act. But in fact the meeting of ministers charged with governing in the name of the King had become the principal organ of the state. The Cabinet not being an official body, the number of its members has never been fixed; it varies from twelve to nineteen. Since the eighteenth century the ministry has been re-

* Arthur Young in 1789 ridiculed Frenchmen who imagined there is "a receipt for making a constitution."

garded as a unit, made up of men of one mind regarding public policy. One of the members acts as head and speaks for the ministry as a whole; he is called the *prime minister*, but this is only a popular name. As late as 1806 it was said that "the English constitution abhors the idea of a prime minister."

3. The King in appointing the ministry did not act on his own judgment; personally he was not responsible. By a constitutional fiction the King can do no wrong. If wrong be done by his order, the act is that of his evil advisers, and they alone are responsible. The responsibility thus borne by the ministers was held to be to Parliament. In practice a ministry could remain in office only so long as it had the confidence of a majority in the House of Commons. If the House wished to end a ministry, it could do so without needing even to bring formal charges against it. It was enough to refuse supplies or to pass a vote of censure. The King was thus indirectly compelled to take for ministers the leaders of the party having a majority in the House of Commons. Not, however, in the sense that these leaders must all be Commoners: it was customary still to take at least as many ministers from the House of Lords as from the House of Commons. Thus, the King having yielded the control to his ministry, and the ministry having become a delegation of the party in control of the Commons, it was the House of Commons that indirectly exercised the royal power.

If the power of the House of Commons had been confined to voting the budget and passing bills, it would have remained the subordinate authority it still is in the constitutional monarchies (Prussia and Austria). Not by the exercise of its legislative power, recognised by law, but, in the gradual process of custom, by appropriating to itself the executive power, exercised by the Cabinet in the King's name, has it established Parliamentary government. That *régime* consists in transferring the substance of the royal power to the majority in Parliament, leaving the King only a pre-eminence in dignity: "the King reigns, but does not govern."

Parliamentary government seems to-day so characteristic of English ways that one easily forgets how recent a growth it is. It existed under the first two Georges (1714-1760), but the practice was not definitely settled, and even the theory was not frankly admitted, when George III. again called it in question. The first two Georges had been pleased to take their ministers from the majority in Parliament, and to follow their advice. But the action

of these two kings did not alter the legal right of the Crown (the *prerogative*); their successors might make other use of it. George III. asserted this position, and during his long reign (1760-1820) he strove to return to the older practice, which accorded with the official theory of a balance between the three powers, King, Lords, and Commons. He did not admit without qualification any of the new usages. He wished to preside personally at Cabinet meetings, and to be his own prime minister. He refused his assent to measures that were personally distasteful to him although urged by his ministers. He repeatedly asked ministers to resign because he disapproved their policy. He tried long to prevent the growth of unity in the Cabinet, by systematically drawing ministers from different political groups. He did not think it necessary to take as ministers the leading men of the Parliamentary majority.

In his struggle against Parliamentary government, George III. was helped by the Parliament itself. The old Royalist party, now become the Tory party, continued to uphold the power of the King and to reject parliamentary rule as it was practised by the Whigs. It is probable that in the eighteenth century the Tories already commanded a majority of the voters,—all of the gentry and the clergy being Tories. The Whigs, supported by the government (they had been in power since 1715), had created an artificial majority in the House. But when the King joined the Tories, the Tory party acquired an overwhelming majority in the House and held it during half a century (1783-1830). During all this time the ministries were Tory in character and the King's power was respected.

Thus assisted by the Tories, George III. was able to have a policy of his own and to force it upon his ministers, at least during his lucid intervals. His son, who succeeded him as regent in 1811, when his insanity became complete, and who subsequently became king under the name of George IV. (1820-1830), accordingly found the constitutional methods of procedure seriously disturbed. England still hesitated between two forms of government. The Tory party defended the traditional theory of the constitutional monarchy which assigned to Parliament the subordinate rôle of acting as a check upon the government, and yielded to the King the power to choose and to direct his ministers; gave him, in other words, the practical means of establishing a personal government. The Whig party accepted the new theory of parliamentary rule which strips the King of his real power, leaving him

only a vague influence, and transfers the actual work of governing to the ministry, which becomes itself responsible to the majority of the House of Commons.

During the wars with France domestic strife had ceased; Parliament obeyed the ministry; it had passed the laws of exception to crush the Radical party, admirers of the Revolution (1795); it had sanctioned the measures taken against the commerce of France by means of simple "orders in council," that is to say, "royal decrees" (1806). The question of sovereignty had been temporarily laid aside through the harmony existing between the King and the majority; but it had not been answered, and came once more to the front in 1814: Should England have a personal government or parliamentary rule?

Local Powers.—Even the composition of the Parliament was governed by tradition. The House of Commons was elected, not by the nation, but by privileged local bodies. Thus the central government was connected with local institutions.

In England the local government was irregularly organized and, contrary to the opinion now become classic, it was weak. The self-government so boasted of by England was confined to the old cities and privileged boroughs, each administered by an old municipal corporation elected by hereditary burgesses. All the rest of the country, all the villages and all the new cities, were without elected local administration. In these, local affairs were managed by the *vestry*, or parish meeting, and church wardens, under the direct control of the rector and the squire. It was the justices of the peace, appointed by the government from among the gentry, who, without compensation, undertook the management of the police, of the assessment of taxes, and even of justice, sometimes working singly, sometimes meeting in session to deliberate together. Each was master in his own district, without other check than the right of aggrieved persons to appeal to the ordinary tribunals against his action.

There was still for each county a lord-lieutenant, formerly commander of the militia, also taken from among the great landowners of the county, but now reduced to mere ceremonial functions. The original character of the English local administration was not to employ salaried officers; all the work was done gratuitously by the prominent men of the county. The twelve judges of the three Common Law Courts were the only judges remunerated by the state. These were concentrated in the capital, going about the country only to hold jury trials and to hear

appeals from the local justices. There were no permanent local courts except those of the justices of the peace in Petty and Quarter Sessions.

This English self-government was not therefore the government of the country by itself, but the government of the country by the local aristocracy.

The Electoral System.—It was the local bodies that sent the representatives to the House of Commons. There were three classes of these constituencies: the *counties*, electing 186 members; the *boroughs*, electing 467 members; and the *universities*, electing 5 members. The boroughs were not ordinarily electoral districts, but privileged bodies, very unequally distributed, without regard either to population or to territory. Scotland had only 45 members, Wales 24; Ireland, incorporated with Great Britain in 1800, had 100 members. In England the privileged boroughs were chiefly in the south; 10 southern counties had 237 members, the other 30 counties had only 252. The poor and backward county of Cornwall had 44, lacking only one of having as many as all Scotland.

The majority of these bodies had no political life. There were in England 34 *rotten boroughs*, old abandoned villages (Beeralston had one house, Dunwich had been covered with water for centuries, Gatton was simply a park). Many others were reduced to less than fifty voters. These were known as *pocket boroughs;* all the houses belonged to one great landlord, who directed the vote of all his tenants. The patron also treated the seats belonging to his borough as his property, and disposed of them by gift or sale. Other boroughs were under government control and were obliged to return government candidates. It was estimated that of 658 representatives, 424 were designated beforehand by the ministry or by the 252 patrons.

The English counties, and some of the large boroughs in which the householders or the taxpayers had the right of voting, were the only constituencies in which real elections were held. Even in some of these it was no uncommon thing to dispense with the formality of an election. On the day fixed for the nomination of candidates there appeared only as many as there were seats to be filled. The prominent men of the county having agreed on the men to be put in nomination, the sheriff had only to declare these elected. This was what was called an *uncontested* election, and many of the county elections were conducted in just this way.

Ordinarily at a general election there were not more than fifty

constituencies which were really contested. In 1818 the struggle was considered very hot because there were 100 *contested* elections. In all the counties of Scotland there were not 30 voters in all. In Bute County (14,000 inhabitants, 21 voters they tell the story of an election at which only *one* voter appeared; he constituted the assembly, by electing himself as chairman, made a speech in favor of his own election, put his name to the vote, and declared himself unanimously elected.

The *contested* election was held under old disorderly forms. On nomination day, in presence of the crowd, gathered sometimes in the open air, the sheriff put the question on the candidates one by one, and the crowd voted on each by shouting and by raised hands in the midst of much confusion. The real electors were mixed in right and left with non-electors, who, of course, also raised their hands. This was a mere farce. The defeated candidate had the right to demand a *poll*. Then the real election began. A poll-book was opened in which each voter had the right to have his vote inscribed; this operation could go on for forty days (reduced in 1784 to fifteen). The inhabitants of the place were interested in prolonging the polling, for in a hotly contested election the price of votes was sure to go up. The vote being public and recorded in a book, the candidates could effectively buy or threaten the voters. This was unlawful, but was done without much concealment. Some boroughs in which the corporation elected the members put their seats on sale. In others the proprietors of the land on which the borough stood dictated their choice to the inhabitants, their tenants; in 1829, Newark, the Duke of Newcastle turned out 587 of his tenants for having dared to vote for the other candidate. This was complained of in the House, and the Duke replied: "Have I not a right to do as I wish with my own?"

Pitt had proposed in 1785 a timid reform which consisted in buying up the seats of 36 rotten boroughs, to be assigned to the counties. He could not get it passed. The elections remained corrupt, and the parvenus, bankers, manufacturers, and "nabobs," taking advantage of this to buy the position of member of Parliament, gave another increase to the prices of seats.

In 1814 the greater number of seats were simply acquired by inheritance, by purchase, or by family influence. The House was representative only in name; it was an assemblage of landlords, millionaires, and their nominees, independent of the mass of the nation. The sovereignty belonged to the King and the aristo-

racy. The Parliamentary system was not a representative government, but an oligarchical government.

The Church.—The organization of the Church was very complicated. Without counting the sects, the United Kingdom was divided between three churches, each predominating in one of the three countries: the Anglican Church in England, the Presbyterian in Scotland, and the Roman Catholic in Ireland. Of these only two were officially recognised, the Anglican as the Church of England, and the Presbyterian as the Church of Scotland; the Catholic Church was forbidden by law and only tolerated in fact.

The Established Church was the only one officially protected and endowed. The English government, nevertheless, granted absolute freedom of worship. The only restriction laid upon Dissenters was from holding public office, and this was in practice set aside by the Annual Indemnity Act, passed each year by Parliament.

Catholic worship did not enjoy even this toleration and was still forbidden by law. Roman Catholics were debarred from holding public office and from sitting in either House of Parliament by the requirement of the oath of supremacy and the declaration against transubstantiation. In 1807 George III. dismissed the Grenville ministry for refusing to promise never to renew their proposition looking to the admission of Catholics to offices in the army and navy.

The Anglican Church kept up its ecclesiastical courts, where were tried not only matters of church discipline, but lay cases of divorce, validity of marriage, and administration of wills. It also had the exclusive right to perform marriages, and it registered births and deaths.

The Church maintained its established position. Besides the income from its own estates, it had an annual revenue from tithes and church rates. The tithe was a tenth part of the produce of all lands, whether held by Churchmen or others; the church rate was a tax imposed, by vote of the parish vestry, on all rate-payers, whether Churchmen or not. The tithes went for the support of the clergy; the rates were levied for the maintenance and care of the buildings, grounds, etc., belonging to the Church. The Church maintained its ancient hierarchy: the archbishops and bishops, the chapters of cathedrals, the archdeacons, appointed by the government, and the parsons, appointed by the *patrons*, who were either the bishop, the Lord Chancellor, the chapter, or,

as was usually the case, a layman who owned the advowson of the living. In fact, the clergymen were usually the younger sons of the great families, who, with the income from their parishes, continued to live like gentlemen, hunting and riding, exercising the functions of justice of the peace, and bringing up a family. Many did not even reside in their parish, but left it in charge of a curate, an ecclesiastic taken from the ranks of the lower middle class, whom they paid with a small portion of their own income.

The Church of Scotland held, and still holds to this day, its old federative constitution recognised by the Act of Union in 1707. Each parish forms a body governed by the pastor and the lay elders. A group of parishes unites to form a presbytery, governed by the united body of pastors and an elder from each parish. The meeting of the members of several presbyteries makes what is called a Synod. Finally, at the head of this hierarchy, the General Assembly, composed of delegates from each presbytery, each royal borough, and each university, is the supreme power of the Established Church of Scotland. All these assemblages are courts of discipline having power of censorship over the faith and the private life of the pastors and the faithful; the presbytery is practically the strongest power.

The Church of Scotland, in the eighteenth century, had assumed a tyrannical supervision over the private life of the parishioners; but the government and the lay tribunals, by refusing to recognise its right to discipline private individuals in matters of conduct, had succeeded in restricting it to questions of religion (to await the conflict with the state which, in 1843, was to bring about the secession of the Free Church).

Its revenues consisted of the tithes, the church rate, and private contributions (the latter amounting to almost one-half).

The Church of Scotland, always poor, paid its members little, but it knew neither the enormous inequality between the incomes of the various pastors, nor the undisguised sale of livings so common in the Church of England; the Scotch clergy were more independent and more active than the English.

Social Conditions.—English society was based on the distinctions between rich and poor: those who had possessions had all the rights, private and political; those who had nothing were shut out from all public life, and even from some of the securities for personal liberty. They were as two separate nations placed one over the other, the one privileged, the other disinherited.

The authors who described English political life or who theo-

rized about it, knew only the privileged nation; they believed the English to be all equal before the law, all protected by the law. And, indeed, the official political acts made no distinctions, as in other countries, between nobles and commons; the Bill of Rights spoke for the "rights of the English people" without class distinctions. But, in fact, custom and some special laws little known to the public had finally formed under the legal nation a lower class, shut out from political rights.

The constitution forbade compulsory military service; but in reality the government, when there was need of sailors for the royal navy, got them by force, seizing sailors, and even some that were not sailors at all. This was the system of impressment which had earlier struck Voltaire. It was practised only on the poor.

The constitution did not admit that manual labour entailed any loss of the rights of an English subject. But Parliament, made up of landowners and employers, had made laws which put the labouring classes in the power of their employers. A law passed in the sixteenth century obliged farm labourers to accept work from any landowner who offered them the legal wage; a justice of the peace might imprison any man who refused. Day-labourers were thus bound to the soil.

A series of laws from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century had created the legal category of the poor, and the local tax called the poor-rate. Whoever had no independent means of support was kept at the expense of the parish and came under the authority of the overseers of the poor. These overseers had the power to set them at any sort of work and, if they refused it, to shut them up in the workhouse, and to put their children out as apprentices wherever they pleased; this meant, in practice, selling them to manufacturers to make them work in the factories. The poor man could not freely change his dwelling-place, for every parish had the right of denying a settlement to anyone who was likely to become a public charge. Now, as nearly all the lands of England belonged to the gentry, the English peasants had ordinarily no means of self-support; so the greater number of them fell into the class of assisted poor, numbering 1,340,000 in 1811, 1,500,000 in 1821, and 1,850,000 in 1827.

The constitution recognised the right of forming unions and clubs. The city artisans had had their trade guilds protected by regulations which fixed the maximum number of apprentices and the minimum of wages. But when the factory system arose, and

crowds of labourers were gathered in new places, the employers held themselves free from old regulations favouring the labourers. Nor was this all. When the workingmen demanded the application of these regulations the employers not only had the former restrictions abolished, but induced Parliament to pass laws (1799-1800) which forbade artisans, under penalty of several months' imprisonment, to band themselves together for an increase of pay. It became a misdemeanour for workmen to club together, and a justice of the peace had the power to send them to jail for it.

Thus sailors, farm labourers, paupers, workmen, thrust outside of common rights, at the mercy of press-gangs, overseers of the poor, employers, and justices of the peace, formed an inferior nation, without political power, without assured means of existence, without guarantee of personal liberty.

From this disinherited class came many criminals, notably robbers. To suppress these Parliament had passed fierce laws pronouncing the penalty of death for more than 200 acts declared to be felonies; for example, poaching on game preserves and shoplifting were capital crimes.

The whole nation, in the contemplation of the law, was swayed by two rival aristocracies: that of landed proprietors, allied with the clergy, supreme in the country parts; and that of capitalists and great manufacturers, supreme in the cities. These were economic masters of the country.

There remained in 1815 almost no independent peasants, small landed proprietors, or tenants on lease; all lands had finally been absorbed into great estates, belonging to lords or squires. These let out their lands to farmers, who had them cultivated by hired labourers. A village was simply a group of cottages occupied by these workmen, where the lord or squire acted as master. Grain was still England's chief product. In order to maintain an advantageous price, the proprietors had got the Corn Laws passed, which excluded foreign grain except in case of a scarcity and consequent high price. The price was fixed in 1791, at 50 shillings a quarter (8 bushels); but during the wars with France the price went up so far beyond this that they raised the figure to 63 shillings. After the peace, to offset foreign competition, they raised it again to 80 shillings. By these measures the income of land was doubled, to the benefit of the owner. Rents were raised, but not the wages of the labourers.

A similar concentration had taken place in manufacturing

since the end of the eighteenth century. The industrial system had been revolutionized by two changes: 1st, the new machines driven by water or by steam, and the new mechanical arts, had created the factory system; 2d, small employers who produced directly for a single business house, were replaced by capitalist employers who produced on a large scale for the general market and for exportation. So was formed the new class of large employers and wholesale merchants, who were added to the aristocracy of capitalists.

The factory system was redistributing the population of England. Until the eighteenth century all economic and political life had been in the south and east, near London; the north and west remained thinly populated and backward in civilization. But the factory system attracted population to the neighborhood of mines and streams in the north and west, where dense masses of workmen established themselves. England was divided into two regions: the south and east, remaining agricultural and controlled by the landowners, were the home of conservatism; the north and west, given over to manufacturing, were centres of political agitation. In Scotland, where manufacturing had begun, especially along the Clyde, Glasgow became a seat of activity rivalling Edinburgh, the capital.

The Condition of Ireland.—Ireland was inhabited by two nations of different origin: the native Irish, who were Catholic, and the settlers from England, and especially Scotland, most of whom were Anglicans or Presbyterians. The latter occupied only a part of the province of Ulster in the extreme north. The native Irish formed the population of the other three provinces, except the Pale in the neighbourhood of Dublin and a few other districts where early settlements of English had taken place. But since the conquest of the seventeenth century the native Irish were no longer masters even in their own region. Their religion was only tolerated by law; their clergy had neither official position nor right to tithes; they lived by the voluntary contributions of their parishioners. The Anglican Church was the State Church, recognised by law, supported by the income from its estates and tithes levied from all cultivators of the soil whether Protestant or Catholic. All political offices were closed to the Catholics; all the authorities, even the local justices of the peace, town councils, and juries, were Protestant—that is, foreign. The land belonged to English landlords who ordinarily did not live on their domains, but had them managed

by agents or leased them to middlemen. The Irish peasant was not a landowner; he occupied, often for generations in the same family, a small farm on which he had built his cabin and which he cultivated subject to rent. But he had no vested right in the land; he was a tenant-at-will or at best a lease-holder. The landlord could evict him at pleasure, or at the end of his lease, without compensation. Population having greatly increased in the eighteenth century, the land was subdivided to such a point that each tenant had barely enough ground to raise the necessary potatoes for himself and his family; the wretchedness of the Irish peasant had become proverbial.

In Ulster, peopled by Scotch Presbyterians, the tenants had a more stable tenure. Under the Ulster custom, the landlords did not evict their tenants except in special cases and on payment of compensation for improvements.

Politically Ireland had been, until 1800, a dependency of Great Britain, subject to the King and the British Parliament, but with a Parliament of its own in Dublin. After 1782 the Irish Parliament had been allowed to legislate somewhat independently. It had repealed a part of the exceptional laws against the Catholics, and had allowed them to vote at elections. But Irish autonomy was destroyed at a blow by the Act of Union in 1800, passed by the Irish Parliament in spite of strong opposition on the part of Irish patriots. The Irish Parliament was suppressed; Ireland, swallowed up in Great Britain, had her representatives in the British Parliament, keeping her own electoral system, which allowed Catholics to vote and conferred the franchise on all leaseholders of land worth 40 shillings a year, that is to say, on almost every peasant. The representatives had to be Protestant, although the mass of Irish voters were Catholics. Ireland preserved her separate administration, the Lord Lieutenant and his Secretary, assisted by the Irish Privy Council.

Between the lower nation of Irish peasants and the superior nation of English or Scotch landlords the contrast was not shown in speech: * the Irish, except in the west, had given up the Celtic language and adopted English. But difference of religion was sufficient to remind the Irish peasants of the foreign origin of their landlords. Thus the social and religious antipathy to the Protestant landlord took the form of a national sentiment among the Irish.

* Even the Irish national songs were in English.

AGITATION FOR REFORM.

The Reform Movement.—The system above described was of old origin, but it had been further consolidated in the years preceding 1814. The French Revolution, by alarming the ruling class, had filled them with a dread of every innovation and had prevented, for thirty years, the adoption of any reform. The wars against France had raised the national debt from £237,000,000 in 1791 to £816,000,000 in 1815: this added greatly to the political influence of the bankers and money lenders. The new industrial system had created an influential class of great manufacturers. The number of hired labourers was growing, and the gap between rich and poor was widening.

While France was ridding herself of her old *régime*, England was bracing herself to preserve hers. England was more thoroughly "old England" in 1814 than in 1789. This old England showed itself with features more clear-cut than ever—features so striking that one might easily take them for peculiarities of race inborn in the English nature: extreme contrast between rich and poor; a government monarchical and representative in appearance, but in reality controlled by an oligarchy of wealthy landowners; an aristocratic church, and a religion prescribed by law; hence, in public life, venality and corruption; in private life, luxury, pride, and formalism; hypocrisy on the part of the rich, misery, depression, and servility on the part of the poor; eagerness for titles and for the money necessary to get into good society—that state of mind which Thackeray described under the new name of *snob*.

This whole condition of things was sanctified by its antiquity. In contrast to the revolutionary Frenchman, the Englishman of the early days of the century respected every established institution because it was old; he despised every innovation because it was new. The theory of the sanctity of tradition, formulated by Burke, had become a dogma of the Anglican clergy, the gentry, and the universities. The English nation in 1814 was devoted to aristocracy and tradition. The Tory party, backed by the King and an enormous majority in the House of Commons, maintained its power without difficulty; the Liverpool Ministry lasted fourteen years (1812-27). The war over, the landholders, who made up the majority, put two measures through Parliament. The first forbade the importation of wheat unless the price went up to 10 shillings a bushel; a rule that ordinarily

shut out foreign wheat, as the price of wheat was going down instead of going up. The second abolished the income-tax established during the war.

However, the peace brought a movement for reform. This showed itself in the large cities in the demonstrations of the Radicals; in Parliament in the form of bills brought forward by independent members. Each of the more prominent Liberals consecrated himself to some special reform: Wilberforce to the abolition of slavery, Romilly and Mackintosh to the amelioration of the penal code, Grattan and Burdett to Catholic emancipation, Grey and Russell to electoral reform, Brougham to educational and judicial reform. They knew that their motions had not the slightest chance of being passed by Parliament, but their plan was to bring forward their reforms incessantly, so as to rouse public interest in them. They did not confine their efforts to Parliament, for they set on foot outside agitation among the people. A public opinion among the masses on political questions began to manifest itself—a new thing for England.

In the eighteenth century, except in and about London, the public never aroused itself except for religious disputes, for wars, or against taxes. The awakening of public opinion was aided by a creation of the end of the eighteenth century: the great political newspapers had just been founded, the *Morning Chronicle* in 1769, the *Post* in 1772, the *Times* in 1785, the *Courier* in 1792. In their early stages these were a combination of advertisements and commercial news with some leading articles and Parliamentary reports. The government and Parliament viewed with dislike this new political power. Far from encouraging the press, they tried to hamper it by fiscal laws. The stamp duty on each sheet was raised from 2½ pence in 1789 to 4 pence in 1815; an import duty was placed on paper, which lasted until 1861. The press remained subject to old laws against seditious libel, which punished with imprisonment and sometimes transportation any attack on the King, the government, or religion; the opposition newspapers were always harassed with prosecutions. In 1812 the Hunt brothers were condemned to a year's imprisonment for saying that the *Morning Post* exaggerated in calling the Prince of Wales an Adonis. From 1808 to 1821, 94 journalists were condemned, 12 of them to transportation.

Journalists were held in contempt by the ruling class. As late as 1828 they were still disqualified for admission to the bar. Men

in public life who wrote for the daily papers were unwilling to confess it. The press, however, was beginning to be a power. Certain Scots established in London had revolutionized the newspaper business by the rapidity with which they struck off copies. Walter, of the *Times*, by using a steam press, succeeded in printing 1500 copies an hour (1814). He had come to have 60 columns of advertisements. He had organized a special news service, and was thus able to defeat the government scheme of withholding letters sent to him by mail. Parliament, since 1770, had found itself obliged to tolerate the reporting of its debates by the newspapers. This was, and still is, the only means of publishing them, the English Parliament having neither stenographers nor official publication of its discussions. The press was thus becoming the intermediary between the Parliament and the public. Newspapers, burdened with the heavy stamp duty, remained a luxury; there were only six dailies in 1815, and the chief of them, the *Times*, sold only 8000 copies. But the sale was increasing, the total number of all newspapers paying stamp duty rose from 16,000,000 in 1801, to 25,000,000 in 1821, to say nothing of papers that evaded the duty. The great political reviews had just been founded, the *Edinburgh Review* (Whig) in 1808, the *Quarterly Review* (Tory) in 1809.

Political activity, suspended by the war, reawoke in 1814 in Parliament and the press. Then began a general attack on the old system maintained by the government and the Tory majority. With this was coupled a profound agitation in the world of labouring men. English industry, still in its infancy, was contending with limited capital and defective knowledge of the needs of the market. The manufacturers, feeling their way, sometimes produced in excess of the demand, sometimes fell far short of it; thus engaging at one time more workmen than they could employ regularly, and then later dismissing them. For thirty years England lived in a state of periodic crises (1816, 1819, 1826-29, 1837, 1842, 1848). Each crisis threw into idleness and misery a part of the workmen, especially the spinners and weavers in wool and cotton, who produced for exportation. The attendant suffering caused lawless outbreaks.

Radical Agitation and Laws of Exception (1816-19).—The peace did not bring the business revival which was expected; it was, on the contrary, followed by a crisis. The continental countries tried to shut out English products, so exportation went down; manufacturers, burdened with unsold goods, cut down wages,

while the price of bread was raised by a bad harvest and the exclusion of foreign wheat. There was in 1816 a crisis of idleness and misery. The workmen thrown out of employment attributed their idleness to the new machinery which drove out hand labour; in some places they smashed the machines. This was not a new departure; in 1811 there had been outbreaks against machinery—the Luddite Riots, incited by a crazy man. The novelty was the political character of the uprising.

There had been in England since the eighteenth century a party working for radical political reform through universal suffrage, which now took the name, originated in England, of *Radical.* The party first appeared in 1769 in the Wilkes affair; it was organized in 1793, in sympathy with the French republicans, by the "Corresponding Society." The government persecuted it and broke it up, but its members clung secretly to their opinions. This was simply a group of men almost all living in London; but they made converts in the rising generation, and a new Radical party sprang up, of sufficient size to take part in political life. The intellectual centre was the group of disciples of Bentham, the *utilitarian* school, which contended against the old system in the name of right and the good of the greatest number. The most active member of the party was, at first Cobbett, son of a peasant, editor of a popular newspaper, who wrote for the labouring classes. He attacked "the unproductive classes," bondholders, and clergy, and demanded a less costly religion and government.

All were agreed to consider Parliamentary reform the necessary precursor of all other reforms; before asking the House of Commons to interest itself in the fate of the poor classes, the House itself must first be made representative—representing the poor as well as the rich. The Radicals therefore claimed *universal suffrage.* Cobbett led the campaign by reducing the price of his paper, the *Weekly Register*, from a shilling to 2 pence (1816), and exhorting "all the artisans and workmen of England" to rise in a demand for universal suffrage. The newly elected Lord Mayor of London aided the reform movement by declaring, in an address to the Regent, that the only remedy for the crisis was reform.

To intimidate the government, the Radicals issued a call to discontented workmen. They organized the agitation on a grand scale; they got up monster outdoor meetings, public speeches, huge processions carrying banners with devices—

things now become so common in English political life that they are readily taken for an old national custom. They had been employed before, but simply as a means of celebration for newly elected candidates. The Radicals used them as manifestations in favour of an abstract cause.

As early as 1816 came the characteristic demonstration at Spafield, near London. Placards invited all workmen in distress to meet and send a petition to the Regent and to the House of Commons imploring them to take action. The meeting took place, and it was agreed to meet again to hear the answer. The promoters of the scheme had a placard made which thus summed up "the present state of Great Britain; four millions of people on the point of starvation, four millions with a bare subsistence, one and one-half millions in straitened circumstances, one-half million in dazzling luxury; our brothers in Ireland in a state even worse." At the second meeting (December, 1816) the speaker, Dr. Watson, mounted upon a carriage, waved the French tri-colour flag; this movement was therefore a combination of want and the French revolutionary spirit. The government had the meeting dispersed by soldiers. Then the Regent answered the reform petition by expressing his "surprise and grief," and, at the opening of Parliament, declared the English electoral system to be the most perfect the world had ever known. On his return from the House his carriage was pelted with stones. The government then formed a "committee of secrecy" in the House, and, presenting to it a report on the "practices, meetings, and combinations . . . evidently calculated to endanger the public peace," denounced the "conspiracy to overturn all the political institutions of the Kingdom and undermine the principle of private property." The House voted the suspension of the Habeus Corpus Act and gave to each justice of the peace the right to arrest, and detain without trial, writers and sellers of blasphemous or seditious publications. They aimed above all at the press, which one of the ministers called "a very dangerous enemy to the constitution." A law gave to the government the power to break up any meeting which incited hatred or contempt of the government or of the constitution. Refusal to disband was made a capital crime (1817).

As the destitution continued, the turbulence continued also. The workmen out of employment in Manchester set out on foot in a body for London, each man carrying a blanket. This "march of the Blanketeers" was stopped by force. In the manu-

facturing regions of the north, secret meetings were held at which there was talk of an armed rising. A mob partly armed marched on Nottingham, another made a night attack on some houses. There were some noisy state trials: that of Watson, who was acquitted, and that of Brandreth, leader of the Nottingham outbreak, who was convicted.

The program of the Radical party was definitively formulated in a bill laid before the House of Commons by Burdett, the sole Radical member of the time:* universal suffrage, secret ballot, equal electoral districts, annual elections. This bill would have suddenly transferred the political power to the mass of the nation. Neither of the old political parties was willing even to discuss it. With the gradual return of better times, the Radical agitation fell off. At the elections of 1818 the Whig opposition increased from 140 to 170 members; but the Tory majority was still enormous. In 1819 a return of hard times brought a renewal of agitation by the Radicals, especially among the miners and weavers of the northwest, who suffered most from low wages and lack of employment. The centre of disturbance was now no longer London, but the neighbourhood of Manchester. As in 1816, the Radicals organized an enormous meeting, and drew up a petition for electoral reform. It covered five points: universal suffrage, secret ballot, annual Parliaments, pay of members, abolition of the property qualification for candidates.

At the meeting in St. Peter's Field ("Peterloo"), near Manchester, where were gathered 50,000 persons, they carried banners with the Phrygian cap, and the inscriptions: "No duty on corn," "Liberty or death" (motto of the French Revolution), "Equal representation or death." When "Orator Hunt" began to speak, the police tried to stop him, but the crowd defended him. Then a regiment of cavalry charged into the mob, and killed quite a number of persons (August, 1819). The Radicals retaliated with meetings to protest against the massacre and to make up subscriptions for its victims. The Common Council of London expressed its indignation against the "unjust and impol-

* He was one of the members from Westminster, a borough in which the right of voting belonged to the "householders paying scot and lot." Being a royal residence and the seat of government, it was formerly counted a sure ministerial borough; but it had latterly become a favourite residence of city merchants and professional men, who, since 1780, were usually able to elect at least one of the two members. Charles James Fox represented the borough from 1780 till his death.—TR.

itic action" of the government and affirmed the "right of the English people to assemble and deliberate on public abuses." They accused the government of having violated one of the traditional liberties of England.

The ministers not only refused to make any investigation, but instituted proceedings against Hunt, on the charge of "conspiring to change the law by threats." They induced Parliament to pass a set of exceptional measures, the Six Acts, nicknamed the "Gag Laws": 1st, speedy trial of offenders; 2d, prohibition of drilling; 3d, power given to justices of the peace to search houses for arms; 4th, right to seize every seditious or blasphemous libel, and to banish the author for a second offence (the government would have made it transportation); 5th, prohibition against holding public meetings "to examine into grievances in state and Church matters, and with the object of preparing petitions"; also against carrying at such a meeting arms, banners, or inscriptions; 6th, every political publication of less than two sheets to be subject to the stamp duty.

Every peaceful manifestation being prevented, some violent Radicals formed in London the Cato Street conspiracy to massacre the ministers; the government arrested them and hanged five of them (1820). Then, owing to revival of trade, the Radical agitation subsided.

Partial Reforms (1820-27).—George IV. having become King (January, 1820), the opposition turned upon him. His wife Caroline, from whom he had parted, and to whom he denied the title of queen, returned to England against his wish and was received with enthusiasm by the people. The ministry did not dare to insist upon obtaining from the House of Lords the divorce demanded by the King. George IV., held in contempt by reason of his extravagance, debts, and disorderly private life, had not as much influence with the ministry as his father had had, a fact favourable to Parliamentary government.

The Tory party retained an assured majority, but it was now beginning to attract younger men, less systematically hostile to reform. Vacant places in the ministry were filled by new men, Peel in 1821, and Canning in 1822. From this date the policy of the ministry became more liberal. Canning detached England from the Holy Alliance by supporting the liberal movement in Portugal and recognising the new American republics in their revolt against Spain. Peel consented to bring before the House some legal reforms. Thus were made some partial reforms:

1. The reform of the criminal code, advocated by Romilly from 1808 to his death, had been rejected by the House of Lords. Peel carried the abolition of the death penalty for about a hundred offences, such as shop-lifting, picking pockets, and poaching.

2. The economic system was modified by a series of measures carried by Huskisson. England had retained the Navigation Laws of 1651, which restricted the carrying trade between England and her colonies to English ships; and that between England and every other country to English ships or ships of that country. She was now threatened with retaliation by other countries. An act was passed authorizing the government to make treaties with foreign nations, putting their ships on the same footing with English ships (1823). The revenue having increased, the government was enabled to cut down the interest on the national debt, and to simplify the customs tariff by abolishing the duties on many articles and reducing the rates on many others.

Without attempting to abolish the duties on corn, the government secured the adoption of a sliding scale which allowed the importation of foreign corn when the price was at 66 shillings a quarter instead of 80 (1823). This was neither free trade nor even free trade in corn, but it was a breach in the system of prohibition.

3. The workmen, in order to better their condition, were forming among men of the same trade societies for mutual assistance, called Friendly Societies, or Trade Clubs, later Trade Unions; but as these associations fell under the law of 1800 against combinations, they frequently transformed themselves into secret societies, and even took the form of Masonic orders. The London workingmen, better organized and more inclined to political action, were in friendly relations with the Radicals, and sought to obtain freedom of association. Mr. Place, a wealthy tailor whose house was used as a place of meeting by the Radical workingmen, conducted the campaign skilfully. Mr. Hume, a Radical member of Parliament, prevailed on Peel and Huskisson to institute an inquiry into the economic effects of the three prohibitions pronounced by English laws against, 1st, emigration of workingmen; 2d, exportation of machinery; 3d, associations of workingmen. The question of the workingmen was thus slipped in under the shadow of the other two. The commission of inquiry heard evidence, skilfully presented, on the injury

done to industry by the laws against unions. The commission was convinced and proposed to repeal these laws. Parliament voted the repeal without preceiving the full bearing of its action (1824). But as soon as the workingmen used their liberty to join in strikes and demand an increase of wages, the manufacturers and shipowners demanded a repeal of the new law. A new committee of inquiry proposed to repeal the law of 1824, and the House, by way of compromise, adopted the law of 1825. This allowed combinations of workmen as well as employers, but solely "to determine the scale of wages or hours of labour" (not to limit the number of apprentices or to prevent piecework), and it imposed six months of hard labour on anyone who should resort to violence, threats, molestation, or obstruction, in order to secure a rise of wages. The judges interpreted this clause to extend to workmen on strike who reproached fellow workmen for continuing to labour. This was a half-liberty of association—a half-measure, like all the measures of this epoch.

At this time also began the great change in the means of communication. Clay roads were replaced by macadamized roads. The first railroad was built between Liverpool and Manchester in the years between 1825 and 1829.

Catholic Emancipation.—Since the union with Ireland in 1800, the laws regarding the Catholics had become contradictory. In England the old laws still existed which excluded them from every office and corporation, and accordingly prevented them from voting at elections or being elected. In Ireland, as already stated, they had been admitted to the right of voting in 1793: Irish Catholics, therefore, were in a better position than their co-religionists in England. The Irish patriots asked for the repeal of the exceptional laws against Catholics. The campaign had for a long time been conducted in Parliament in connection with a bill for the "relief of Catholics." As early as 1813 Grattan had it discussed in the House of Commons. But the party supporting the privileged position of the Anglican Church had succeeded in forming a decided majority to maintain the exclusion of the Catholics. Since then the project had been proposed every year, and always rejected; in 1821 it passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. The royal family would not hear of it. George IV., like George III., declared himself bound by his coronation oath to maintain the Anglican Church; the Duke of York presented to the Lords a petition against the reform.

The decisive action came from the Irish Catholics. They

founded the Catholic Association (1823), directed by a powerful orator, the lawyer O'Connell, who demanded in the name of liberty the abolition of the Catholic disabilities. Parliament passed an act declaring this association unlawful. The Catholic Association dissolved itself, but came together again with a change of name.

The Tories were divided on the Catholic question. In 1825 the House of Commons passed a bill for removing the disabilities, but the Lords rejected it. The ministry itself was divided on the question. When Lord Liverpool retired on account of ill health, the new ministry, under Canning, favoured Catholic emancipation (1827). The new prime minister, however, died at the end of four months, and an attempt to carry on his ministry and policy under Lord Goderich came to nothing. In 1828 Wellington formed a ministry, divided among the old Tories, opposed to all reform, and the *Canningites*, friends of emancipation; but the Canningites soon withdrew.

In 1828, by way of substitute for the Annual Indemnity Act, proposed by the Wellington ministry, the Whigs obtained a vote of the Commons in favour of repealing the Test Act and the Corporation Act. The ministry, changing its attitude, brought in and carried a repealing bill in accordance with this vote (1828). But the exclusion of Catholics from seats in Parliament by the requirement of oaths depended, not on the Test Act, but on a special act passed in 1679; this special act remained in force, so that though Catholics could be appointed to office after 1828, they could not take a seat in either house of Parliament. It was, however, not illegal for Catholics to be nominated and elected. Taking advantage of this condition of things, O'Connell presented himself at a by-election in County Clare, and was triumphantly elected. The Irish peasantry had rebelled against their landlords as well as against the Catholic disabilities, and they had done so in a way that brought the government face to face with a most embarrassing and critical question.

At the re-assembling of Parliament, the Wellington ministry decided to propose the emancipation; the King had given his consent to this, but later withdrew it. The ministry therefore offered its resignation, and George IV. accepted it; but finding it impossible to form another ministry he was obliged to recall Wellington and Peel. An act, passed by a vote of 348 to 160, abolished the Catholic disabilities (1829). At the same time they

raised the property qualification for voting in the Irish counties from £2 to £10 in order to shut out the tenants of small holdings.

The Electoral Reform of 1832.—The electoral reform demanded by the Whigs since the eighteenth century had been compromised by the Radicals. When Lord John Russell again took up the campaign in the name of the Whigs, it was not to propose a sweeping democratic reform. His scheme regarded the right of voting as a privilege. It merely proposed to extend largely the number of persons enjoying the privilege. It also proposed to take away the members from a number of "rotten boroughs" and give them to the new cities. The Tory party was violently opposed. Little by little the project became popular; the Whig party increased in strength, while the Tories were weakened by dissension between the Canningites and the old Tories on the Catholic question.

In the House elected after the death of George IV. (1830), the Tories had but a slight majority, and the Canningite section of the party could no longer be relied upon to oppose reforms. The July Revolution in France greatly encouraged the advocates of reform in England. The movement began in the manufacturing regions of the north and west, now the most populous but least-represented portion of England. The centre of the movement was Birmingham, where the Political Union was formed for the purpose of carring on the agitation. Wellington, the head of the ministry, did not appreciate the change in public opinion. Earl Grey, the leader of the Whigs in the House of Lords, made a speech in favour of Parliamentary reform. Wellington, in the course of his reply, said: "I have never read or heard of any measure up to the present moment which could in any degree satisfy my mind that the state of the representation could be improved, or be rendered more satisfactory to the country at large than at the present moment. . . I will go still further, and say, that if at the present moment I had imposed on me the duty of forming a legislature for any country, and particularly for a country like this, in possession of great property of various descriptions, I do not mean to assert that I would form such a legislature as we possess now—for the nature of man is incapable of reaching it at once—but my great endeavour would be to form some description of legislature which would produce the same results" (November, 1830).

This declaration ruined the Tory ministry; on a question

regarding the Civil List it was left in a minority in the Commons by a coalition of the Canningites with the Whigs. The new King, William IV., then appointed a coalition ministry under Earl Grey. The new ministry proposed a reform bill, providing, 1st, that 62 boroughs returning 119 members should lose the privilege; that 47 other boroughs should each lose 1 of its 2 members; Weymouth, returning 4 members, should lose 2. Of the 168 seats thus forfeited only 110 were redistributed; 5 were given to Scotland, 5 to Ireland, 1 to Wales, and the rest to the most populous counties and to the great cities which had heretofore had no representation in Parliament. This was a compromise measure, as was customary with the Whigs; although very different from the Radical scheme of reform, it was none the less received with ridicule in the Commons. The Tories, forgetting family quarrels, came together again to oppose it, and the proposition for a second reading was passed by a majority of only one.

The ministry then dissolved the House of Commons, and at the elections of 1831 the Whig party presented itself as the Reform party, with the motto "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." For the first time since 1783 they carried a majority of seats. The second reform bill was voted by the House of Commons, but the House of Lords rejected it. This produced in all the large cities a political agitation almost revolutionary in spirit. Riots and incendiary fires were of daily occurrence.

In 1831 a group of London carpenters founded, on the model of the Methodist religious sect, a general association, the *National Union of the Labouring Classes;* its object was to better the conditions of labour and secure universal suffrage. At the same time the leaders of the industrial agitation were endeavouring to bring together all the small local trade-unions into general associations that should be strong enough to impose a minimum wage on the employers. Doherty, an Irish Catholic spinner, had founded at Manchester a *National Association for the Protection of Labour* (February, 1830), recruited mainly among textile labourers; it broke up through lack of funds.

The workingmen had adopted the policy of the Radicals in 1819, but they now allied themselves to the middle-class Whigs in order to obtain a partial reform; they hoped that this partial reform would pave the way for Radical reform later. It was they who furnished the Whigs with the crowds necessary for the demonstrations, mass-meetings, and enormous processions in

London and Birmingham. This popular movement gave the Whigs the force to overcome the resistance of the Lords, threatening them with a general uprising if they did not yield. A meeting organized by the *Political Union* at Birmingham decided even to refuse the payment of taxes if the reform bill were not passed.

After a short prorogation Parliament was convened again in December, 1831. The Commons then passed the third reform bill (March, 1832); the Lords, not daring to reject it, tried to mutilate it. The ministry then asked the King to threaten the Lords with the creation of enough new peers to change the majority. The King refused, accepted their resignation, and even tried to get Wellington to form a new ministry. But the Tories did not dare to take command. The King was obliged to recall the Whigs, promising now to create the requisite number of new peers. The House of Lords, at Wellington's suggestion, finally yielded and passed the bill.

The reform of 1832, the result of such hard labour, was a compromise between the old system supported by the Tories, and the sweeping reform demanded by the Radicals. It preserved the organization of the old system: the House of Commons elected for a term of seven years; the right of voting considered a privilege, restricted to ancient privileged bodies (counties, boroughs, universities) and dependent on the possession or occupation of property; the old form of public, recorded vote; a plurality sufficing to elect without second elections. The number of representatives also was left unchanged (658). But it suppressed the most glaring inequality between the representation of the northwest and that of the southeast, and the most scandalous of the abuses—the rotten boroughs, the long-drawn-out polling, and the great disparity in the requirements for voting in different boroughs.

The act contained three main provisions:

First. A redistribution of seats: 143 seats were taken from boroughs; 56 boroughs under 2000 inhabitants lost all representation,* 32 others lost one of their two seats. These were redistributed to cities previously without representation and to counties; 22 cities received 2 each, 21 cities received 1 each, 65 were given to English counties, 8 to Scotland, 5 to Ireland.

Second. A more uniform and wider electoral franchise. In

*One of these had but one member.

the counties, copyholders and leaseholders of lands worth £10 a year were admitted to vote; also tenants-at-will of lands worth £50 a year. In the boroughs householders (whether as owners or tenants) of houses worth £10 a year were allowed to vote.

Third. The voting in each constituency was to be limited to two days. Voters were no longer to travel long distances to cast their votes at the county town. A registration of voters was provided for.

The electoral body was increased in the counties from 247,000 to 370,000 electors, in the boroughs from 188,000 to 286,000. The proportion of electors to population increased from 1-32 to 1-22. The great majority of the workingmen* were still excluded from the right of voting, the increase was in the lower middle class, the farmers and tenants who received the county qualification, and, above all, in the industrial regions of the north, where the cities, hitherto without representation, became enfranchised boroughs. This was not a democratic reform, but it marked a determined breaking away from the old system. The House of Commons was transformed into a truly elective and representative body; maintained and controlled by public opinion, it was destined to become the political sovereign and the instrument of reform.

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SOURCES.—It would be impossible, as well as useless, to give here in detail the sources of the contemporary history of England. I confine myself to the mention of the principal classes of documents.

1. Parliamentary documents, in four classes: Public Bills; Reports of Select Committees; Reports of Royal Commissioners, Inspectors, and Others; Accounts and Papers. A catalogue of each year's documents is

* The number of labouring men entitled to vote was in fact reduced by the reform. In boroughs such as Preston, where "all inhabitants" had the vote, and in the numerous boroughs where all resident householders or all "freemen" could vote, the labouring classes had a voice in the old elections.—TR.

published annually, and a general catalogue for a series of years appears at intervals. In the Boston (Mass.) Public Library catalogue, 1861, there is a general index of the parliamentary documents to 1859; later catalogues have supplementary indices. The reports of committees and commissions are among the best sources for the study of English history. The acts of Parliament are published yearly, under the title "Public General Statutes." The public acts to 1869 are collected in 29 vols., with the title "Statutes at Large." All the more important public acts of each year are also published, with introductions and notes, in "Patterson's Practical Statutes." The debates in both Houses are published in **Hansard's** Debates and in the London *Times*. Much material of a public sort is to be found in the **State Trials.**

2. Official Publications of Public Departments.—A list of these will be found in the "Statesman's Year-book," which has appeared annually since 1864.

3. Histories of the Year.—The "Annual Register," an annual publication which dates back to the eighteenth century, gives the history of each year in detail, and an account of events of every description.

4. Reviews and Newspapers.—The political periodicals are, with the parliamentary documents, the most abundant sources of direct information for the political history of the nineteenth century, in a country where parliamentary life and the liberty of the press have never been interrupted. On the bibliog. of English periodicals, see **Langlois,** "Manuel de Bibliog. Historique." The most important reviews for the period up to 1832 are the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review*. Poole's indexes to periodical literature since 1802 are invaluable.

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CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND BETWEEN THE TWO REFORMS (1832-67).

New Conditions of Political Life.—The electoral reform of 1832 marks the end of England's old *régime*. There were no more representatives chosen by patrons. The great industrial cities entered into political life. The House of Commons became, if not much less aristocratic, at least much more representative, than before.

The change very soon made itself manifest by outward signs; increase in the number of contested elections, in the length of the sessions of the Commons, in the number of members present at a sitting, in the number of volumes of reports printed for the House (an average of 31 a year from 1824 to 1832, 50 from 1832 to 1840), in the number of petitions, which finally became so great that they had to be turned over to a Committee on Public Petitions without debate (1839).

The publication of debates increased also, though it existed only on sufferance; as late as 1832 the Commons refused to publish the votes of the representatives, and when O'Connell made them public in Ireland, his act was denounced as a violation of Parliamentary privilege. By the rules of the House, according to the mediæval principles embodied in them, the sittings and votes should be secret. But the need of publicity overcame this tradition; the Parliament building having been destroyed by fire in 1834, new halls were built with galleries for the reporters and the public. Then the House of Commons itself decided to publish division lists (1836)—that is to say, the votes of the members on both sides of contested questions.

The ancient form of procedure in the House of Commons was preserved, except the manner of voting in case of division, which was thereafter done by both sides going from the hall into the lobbies, and on the way back passing between the tellers. Practical discussion of financial matters and of details and pro-

posed amendments of bills was still carried on in "committee of the whole House," with a chairman; the discussion of the general principle of bills and test votes on their enactment were reserved to the official sitting, presided over, in accordance with old custom, by the Speaker in his wig, with the mace on the table. Each representative continued to speak from his seat; each had the right to present a motion and to speak as long as he wished (the English would have no shutting off of debate.) In practice the Commons rarely passed any but the measures presented by the ministry—and this is still true at the present time.

But, while preserving its ancient forms, the House of Commons assumed a new activity. Elected by a more numerous and more independent body of voters, it inclined toward a policy of reform and real Parliamentary control. The old traditional parties dropped the names of Whig and Tory; the Whigs, uniting with the Radicals, called themselves *Liberals;* and the Tories adopted the name of *Conservatives.* The leader of the Conservatives, Sir Robert Peel, declared, in an election manifesto of 1834, that he accepted the reform as "a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question . . . which no friend to the peace and welfare of the country would attempt to disturb either by direct or by insidious means." The English Conservatives have always followed this policy, fighting a reform before it is passed, but accepting it afterward and never trying to induce a reaction to overthrow it. Before the reform the Conservatives, maintained by the gentry and the clergy, had had the upper hand. Since the reform the majority has been more often with the Liberals, maintained by the commercial classes and the Dissenters. In the 34 years from 1832 to 1866 the Liberals held power for 25 years.

The government ceased to treat the press as an enemy; the stamp duty was reduced in 1836 to 1 penny a copy, and then abolished altogether in 1855. The number of newspapers increased very little. England is still a country of few newspapers with large circulation. The number of stamps sold went up from 36,000,000 in 1836 to 53,000,000 in 1838, and 107,000,000 in 1855. Press prosecutions became rare, and the practical freedom of discussion was complete.

The Tory ministries had abandoned the Parliamentary system; the Liberal ministries restored it. The custom became settled that the leader of the party having a majority in the House of Commons should undertake the formation

of a ministry and that the ministry should govern without interference from the King, in accordance with the phrase now become classic: "The King reigns, but does not govern."

William IV. tried once again to make use of his prerogative to take ministers of his own choosing. The House of Commons elected in 1832 under the new electoral system, had a large Liberal majority, the Liberal ministry under Lord Grey remaining in power. A division arose in the Cabinet on the question of the revenues of the Irish Church, and the ministry was reconstructed under Melbourne. But the King did not like the Melbourne ministry, particularly Brougham, the Lord Chancellor. Lord Althorp, the leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons, having inherited a peerage, the King dismissed the ministry by a simple letter to Melbourne, saying that he no longer had confidence in the stability of the ministry. Peel was then asked to form a ministry, which he reluctantly consented to do. It was a minority ministry. Peel dissolved the House, but failed to obtain a majority, though he gained a number of seats. He tried to carry on the government in presence of the new Parliament; but being left four times in a minority he resigned. In doing so he declared that "according to the practice, the principle, and the letter of the Constitution, a government should not persist in directing the national affairs after a loyal attempt, contrary to the decided opinion of the House of Commons, even when it possesses the confidence of the King and a majority in the House of Lords." Thus was the principle of Parliamentary supremacy formulated by the leader of the Conservative party (1835). It has never since ceased to be regularly applied in England.

William IV. was soon succeeded by his niece Victoria (1837), who during her long reign has reduced her prerogative to charging the leader of the majority in the House of Commons with the task of forming a ministry. The old theory of the balance of power between the three powers, King, Lords, Commons, has been replaced by the theory of the balance of power between the parties. The party having the majority of the Commons should form the ministry, because it has the confidence of the majority of the voters. When a ministry loses its majority in the House, it must resign the power to the party which has acquired that confidence. But a defeated party holds itself together in readiness to take the power again, under a chief who

is called the leader of the opposition. The two parties thus form two organizations, one in the exercise of power, the other ready to be called on at any minute. Between the two the voters hold the scales, and determine, through the House of Commons, which shall have control.*

Since 1832 the Liberals and Conservatives have alternated in control of the Commons, according to changes in public opinion. From this practice an inference has been drawn that the English Parliamentary system rests on a division of the nation into two well-defined parties, and two only, which must alternate in power. In reality the parties have never been sharply defined; the Conservatives were divided into two sets, for and against free trade, in 1846, as in 1827 they had been divided for and against Catholic Emancipation. The Liberals were divided on the army question in 1852, on the Chinese War in 1857, and on electoral reform in 1866. In all these cases the dissenting portion allied itself temporarily with the opposition, and the power was exercised by a coalition instead of a majority. Moreover, in addition to the two great parties, there were formed two new groups, the Radical party and the Irish party, which ordinarily voted with the Liberals, but remained independent of them. These members sat neither on the left nor on the right in the House; they remained on the cross benches.

Thus after the reform of 1832 was the Parliamentary system fully established—a new system, for it has had full play only since the accession of Queen Victoria. And thus was established the alternation of parties founded on the rule of the majority, but with a mechanism much less precise than classic theory assumes.

Administrative Reforms (1833-40).—The Liberal party, having succeeded to power, refused all further Parliamentary reform, and occupied itself solely with reforming the administrative organization. There were still in England, outside of the incorporated towns, only two forms of territorial division—the county and the parish. All those local affairs which spring up little by little with the growth of civilization—poor-relief, assessment of

* The following is the series of ministries under the first Reform Act: Grey, then Melbourne (Liberal) 1832–34; Peel (Conservative), 1834–35; Melbourne (Lib.), 1835–41; Peel (Cons.), 1841–46; Russell (Lib.), 1846–52; Derby (Cons.), 1852; Aberdeen (coalition, Peelites and Liberals), 1852–55; Palmerston (Liberal), 1855–58; Derby (Cons.), 1858–59; Palmerston, then Russell (Lib.), 1859–66; Derby, then Disraeli (Cons.), 1866–68.

taxes, public health, roads, and police—were given over either to the parish authorities, or, as was usually the case, to the justices of the peace, who governed rural England free from control either by the central government or by the taxpayers. The cities and the boroughs remained outside of these divisions, and constituted independent districts; but they were governed by close or self-perpetuating corporations, made up of privileged local families; even the police duties were performed by "constables," residents of the place serving without regular pay. The Liberals denounced this system as incoherent, feeble, and arbitrary.

It was not in the nature of the English Liberals to undertake any sweeping reform; but they accomplished in a few years several partial reforms which were sufficient to transform the old administrative system. The Tories had, in 1829, created a special police service for London—that is to say, for the region lying within a certain radius from Charing Cross. It was made up of policemen, with regular pay, military organization, and discipline; but out of respect for English traditions the old name of *constable* was preserved, and they were given, in place of arms, a short club, which looked like a mere form, but could be used to break heads. Other administrative reforms now followed:

First. The Liberals, under the Grey ministry, reformed the system of poor relief. England was spending enormous sums every year for the relief of paupers; £8,600,000 in the year 1833. But the charitable intention of the nation was badly carried into practice. The administration of the poor law was nominally in the hands of the parish overseers: these were the church wardens, with two or more other persons appointed by the justices of the peace. The overseers were subject to the orders of any justice of the peace as regards the persons to receive aid and the amount of aid. The whole work of relief was managed without any intelligent system or central control to check the vagaries of local justices and overseers. Aid was given not only to the sick and aged, but also to the young and strong in the full exercise of their ordinary employment. Anybody who was refused favour by the overseers could usually find some benevolent justice ready to make the requisite order for an allowance. The justices had standards of their own for determining how much an English labourer ought to have for the support of himself and family; and if a man's wages fell below this standard, they gave an order for an allowance from the parish

rates to make up the deficiency. The larger the family the larger the allowance.

This method, instead of relieving pauperism, was really increasing it. The labourers had come to regard public alms, not as a provision for relief of misfortune, but as a right of all poor people at all times. They were taught to depend on the rates instead of depending on their own industry; they were all becoming paupers in spirit. The few who struggled to maintain their self-respect were sooner or later forced to go with the crowd; for employers expected their labourers to apply for allowances, and found it easy to hire all they needed at very low wages. Wages were, in fact, declining, and allowances increasing, especially in the case of the agricultural labourers.

The burden of the poor rates fell on all income from lands and buildings (including the tithe) in each parish. So far as the land classes were concerned the system of allowances was simply a highly vicious method of supporting the farm labourers: the more they paid in allowances the less they paid in wages. So far, however, as the rates fell on the tithe of the parson or the patron, and on occupiers of houses who were not employers, the system of allowances had the very unjust effect of throwing a portion of the wages of farm hands on the shoulders of people who had nothing to do with farming.

There were cases of local irregularity and hardship for which the law afforded no remedy. Overseers had the right to prevent any labourer from settling in their parish unless he gave security against becoming a charge on the rates. This acted as a serious check on the free movement of labourers from regions where employment was scarce to regions where new industries were calling for additional labourers. Again, the overseers had the right to hand over pauper children to employers as "apprentices"—a useful provision under proper safeguards, but one that led to much cruelty because there was no care taken to protect these unfortunates against the selfish avarice of factory owners.

A commission of inquiry appointed in 1833 disclosed an appalling condition of affairs. Poor rates were so heavy that, in some parishes, they were causing farms to be abandoned, as no man could be found to till them rent-free, on condition of paying the poor rate; and yet the country seemed to be filled with cases of unrelieved misery and hardship. The dismayed Parliament decided upon a sweeping and unpopular reform. They passed the law of 1834, which established three main provisions: 1st.

it set forth the principle that no more help should be given in the paupers' own homes, except to the sick and aged; 2d, that each healthy person asking for aid should be tested by the offer of a place in the workhouse, where he would be taken care of, but obliged to work and submit to a certain discipline; 3d, that several parishes should have the right to form themselves into a union, for the purposes of the poor law; the union to have a single board of guardians and a uniform poor rate.

The new law seemed very hard to the poor, but it produced the desired effect. Many workmen, unwilling to go to the workhouse, gave up asking for help; wages rose gradually, and the burden of poor relief was lightened (four millions sterling in 1837). This was also the beginning of an administrative organization; between the county and the parish an intermediate body had arisen, with its own elected officers and its own paid employees, exercising its powers independently of the justices of the peace. This was the first break in the English system of gratuitous and aristocratic administration. Also a first step was taken toward centralization by the institution of a central board of commissioners with large powers of control over the local administration of the poor law.

Second. A similar system was created for public works; the parishes were grouped into districts empowered to build and maintain highways, with inspectors chosen by the inhabitants, under direction of a central bureau in London. They gave over some of the roads as turnpikes, to be built by private individuals, who repaid themselves by charging tolls. The railroads, however, were left to private management, the state interfering only to vote the act of expropriation for the land required.

Third. There were also unions formed for purposes of health and cleanliness, which were administered by boards of health.

Fourth. The municipalities of cities and boroughs were reformed by the Municipal Corporations Act (1835), which did away with the "close" corporations, gave to all taxpayers the right of voting for the city council, and organized all the city governments on the same model, with a mayor, aldermen, and councillors.

Fifth. The law of 1836 created an entirely new set of civil officers, the county registrars and the registrar general, whose duty was to register the facts relating to population, births, deaths, and marriages. Thus was established a regular lay system of civil registration. The church officials continued to make

their records, but it became possible to perform a marriage without their intervention, by directly addressing the lay registrar.

Sixth. Education was entirely given up to private enterprise. The greater number of children did not go to school. It was one of the Liberal doctrines that the state should not trouble itself about education. The first departure from this principle was a grant of £20,000 to private societies for the purpose of founding schools (1833). Then Parliamentary committees were appointed to investigate the question (1834-37). Finally, in 1839, the ministry brought forward a bill for the creation of a central organ of supervision, the "Committee of the Privy Council for Education," and the appointment of some school inspectors. The Lords rejected it. It could not pass without the conditions exacted by the Anglican party, which regarded the school as an adjunct of the Church; the inspectors must be approved by the bishop, and must report to him. The school appropriation increased little by little, but very slowly (£164,000 in 1851, £800,000 in 1861).

Seventh. The reform in the penal law consisted in abolishing the pillory and the whipping-post; there was also a reform made in the prisons.

Eighth. The reform in the postal service was made in 1839. Instead of the high and variable rate of money charge, payable by the receiver to the postman who delivered the letter, the new law established the postage stamp at a fixed and moderate rate, paid by the sender (the rate was reduced in 1840 to one penny). Men who were experienced in the postal service had declared this reform impracticable, the director explaining that the carriers would no longer be able to carry all the letters and that the General Post Office would sink beneath the burden.

The result of all these reforms was to create in England an administration which, though still incomplete, was organized on new principles. The old local powers, controlled by the gentry, existed only as ornaments; the justices of the peace alone retained any real power. But in addition to these were established elective councils and paid officials of the unions which now took charge of business affairs. At their head was constituted a new power at London, the Local Government Board, the foundation of an institution which has become a sort of Ministry of the Interior. Thus the local administration of the country passed little by little out of the hands of the aristocracy into those of special bodies of elective boards and salaried officials; but these officials

were appointed by the local authorities, not, as in France, by the central government.

The Labour Agitation of the Trades Unions (1832-34).—Industrial crises, occurring from time to time, produced periods of misery and falling wages. The years preceding the reform of Parliament were a time of great suffering in the manufacturing cities, the memory of which is perpetuated in literature by Dickens' "Hard Times" and Disraeli's "Sybil," both of which set forth the misery and despair of the working people. Official investigation into the causes of the cholera epidemic, also into the condition of the women and children in the mines, disclosed the most appalling state of wretchedness and mortality: people packed together in narrow quarters; in Manchester a tenth of the population living in dark and filthy cellars, the children sleeping on the damp bricks; in London families of eight persons crowded into one small room; in a parish of Dorsetshire an average of thirty-six persons to a house; wages from eight to ten shillings a week for a family, in a time when wheat was very dear; payment of workmen by the truck system, which forced them to take, in place of their wages, provisions at extortionate prices for the benefit of the employer. In the official reports of these conditions, two socialistic theorists, Marx and Engels, found many practical examples for their purposes.

The workmen had tried to better themselves by forming associations. Already they had succeeded in forming syndicates of men of the same trade to discuss the terms of labour with the employers. They wished to develop these into large associations. The idea started with a philanthropic reformer by the name of Owen, proprietor of a great cotton mill. After having transformed his own establishment into a model community, Owen began to preach co-operation, urging workmen to associate for the purpose of producing on their own account instead of producing for the profit of a capitalist.

As early as 1824 Owen had founded "co-operative societies" which, since 1829, held congresses of delegates; they had a co-operative review, and had brought into use expressions that have become a part of the workingman's vocabulary: co-operation, productive class, fair value of labour, principles of equity, and even the word *socialist*. From Owen's preaching the workmen got the impression of a common interest between all labourers and the idea that they should work together.

They tried to form associations of all the workmen in each par-

ticular trade, and a combination of all the trades. The movement, drawn aside into politics by the reform agitation in 1831, became again purely industrial in its objects. Owen had just made an attempt at conducting a bank which was to issue notes in terms of labour instead of coin. The bank had proved a failure (1832). He founded a Society for National Regeneration, to obtain a law fixing the working day at eight hours, so that workmen might have time for study (December, 1833). Then he founded the Great National Trades Union,* an association of all trades under the form of a federation of lodges, copied after the Free Masons. These lodges were associations of workingmen of one trade, but organized with rites; a new member was initiated in a secret meeting presided over by the figure of Death, where he had to submit to a test with swords and axes and take an oath. This was not a new custom; the novelty lay in admitting into lodges peasants and even women. The "Trades Union" sent out missionaries and rose rapidly to a membership of half a million. The object was to organize a general strike which should force Parliament to agree to the eight-hour day.

This agitation struck terror to the hearts of manufacturers and politicians. The former retaliated by a league of employers; they bound themselves to refuse employment to any workman belonging to a union; before accepting a workman they must demand a written guarantee that he belonged to no trade union. The two parties were now pitted against each other, the workmen striking to force employers to raise wages or shorten hours, the employers trying to starve out the unions by the *lock-out*, or closing of the factories.

The government, trembling at these demonstrations, consulted an authority on political economy, Nassau Senior, who advised exceptional laws against the workingmen. The Liberal ministry was unwilling to violate "constitutional liberties"; but the King himself urged them to take action against the workingmen. Melbourne, the prime minister, announced in the name of his colleagues the view that the methods followed by the unions were criminal; they were, he declared, "illegal conspiracies," punishable in the name of the law (August, 1833). They began by prosecuting the members of trade unions for having taken oath to a society not recognised by law. The most famous of

*The Trades Union, a fabulous association of Owen's, to unite all trades, must not be confounded with the trade unions, special syndicates of each trade, which still exist.

these cases was that of six Dorsetshire labourers. They were peasants who had formed a "friendly society of farm labourers," to try and maintain a wage of ten shillings a week, the farmers having reduced it to seven; they had adopted the initiatory ceremony of a lodge belonging to the Trades Union. They were sentenced to seven years' transportation for taking illegal oaths (March, 1834), and the government ordered them shipped off without delay.*

The National Trades Union, aided by other general associations, organized an enormous meeting to send a petition to the ministry to plead for the condemned men. In a place near London the workingmen met, grouped themselves according to trades, and marched across the city, led by a Dissenting parson on horseback; the builders had stopped work (August, 1834). Then they appointed a special committee to obtain the release of the condemned men.

But these great general associations, made up mainly of the poorest labourers, weavers, spinners, miners, and journeymen, had not money enough to maintain strikes; so the strikes quickly failed for want of funds. In August, 1834, Owen transformed the Trades Union into a "British and Foreign Association of Industry, Humanity, and Learning," having reduced its aim to the humanitarian one of establishing the "new moral world," to try and reconcile the classes of society. The prosecutions went on. At Glasgow, in Scotland, five cotton spinners were condemned to seven years' transportation (1837), and the House of Commons named a committee to investigate the legality of unions. The workingmen, losing heart, gave up the great general struggle of the united labouring classes.

The Chartist Agitation (1837-48).—The Radical party, when it joined the Whigs for the demonstrations of 1831, had counted on preparing for radical reform by universal suffrage. Since 1832, it had sometimes supported, sometimes attacked, the Liberal ministry. After the accession of Queen Victoria the Radicals demanded electoral reform. Russell replied that electoral re-

* The statutes forbidding combinations of workingmen were repealed in 1824. But there was still an act in force which made it a crime to take or administer oaths not contemplated by the law. Combinations in restraint of trade were forbidden by the common law; and the projected combination of the labourers was held to be in restraint of trade. The Dorsetshire labourers were prosecuted for their breach of the statute against illegal oaths. They were pardoned at the end of two years.—TR.

form was accomplished, and the Commons supported him, 500 to 22.

The Radicals once more began to stir up public interest for electoral reform; they arranged with workingmen excited by the great association movement of 1834. Owen's disciples had tried to obtain a social reform by private associations among workingmen; having failed, they wished to enforce reform through legislation. They must, therefore, control the majority of the House of Commons by winning over a majority of the electors. In order to do this they must obtain the suffrage for the workingmen—electoral reform being the primary condition of social reform. They therefore revived the Radical policy of 1816.

The old Radicals, who were still individualists, and the Socialistic labourers, or Owenites, came to an understanding by a conference. The movement was managed by the London Labourers' Association, a political society founded in 1837 by an Owenite workingman, Lovett, an old ally of the Radicals. They decided to adopt the Radical policy, to present to Parliament a petition for universal suffrage, and to back it up with great demonstrations. The petition, drawn up in London (by either Lovett or Place, the former Radical leader) and published in May, 1838, consisted of six demands: universal suffrage, secret ballot, pay for representatives, abolition of the property qualification, annual elections, and, finally, division of the country into equal electoral districts, in order to insure the equal distribution of seats. This petition was known as the People's Charter. The "six points of the Charter" were simply a repetition of the demands made by the Radicals from 1816 to 1819. Chartism was a combination of the old Radical party and the new Socialist workingman's party.

The Chartist leaders laboured to obtain as many signatures to the Charter as possible, and at the same time to stir up public feeling by great public demonstrations. The Chartist agitation lasted ten years (1838-48), with intervals of quiet. Its greatest activity coincided with the periods of industrial depression. Labourers out of work formed the great body of those making Chartist demonstrations. These took place mainly in London, and in the manufacturing regions of the west (Liverpool, Manchester, southern Wales) and in the interior (Leeds, Sheffield).

There were three great Chartist movements, marked by three huge petitions (1838-39, 1842, 1848).

First. The agitation began after the drawing up of the Charter (May, 1838). Great mass-meetings were held near Manchester,

some at night by torchlight. The principal orator, Stephens (formerly a Dissenting minister), declared as the principle of the Charter "every free man who breathes God's free air or treads God's free earth has the right to a *home*." He called on his followers to arm themselves with pikes and guns. The Tories demanded exceptional laws as in 1819, but the Liberal ministry refused, Russell declaring (October, 1838) that the people had the right of assembling and of discussion. The speech from the throne in 1839 announced that the government discarded all repressive legislation, "trusting to the good sense and the wise disposition of the people."

The Chartists, left free to act, organized a representative congress of workingmen to direct the movement; they called it the "National Convention," also the "Workingmen's Parliament." It met in London (February, 1839) at the same time as Parliament, and gave its attention first to presenting the petition for universal suffrage. The petition was presented with 1,200,000 signatures. The members of the House of Commons were little inclined to favour its demands; they refused by a large majority, after debate, to take it into consideration.

In the "National Convention" some of the Chartist delegates disputed over the further course to be followed, and they divided into two parties. One, which refused to accept anything but pacific action by legal measures, was composed mainly of the most prosperous workingmen; those belonging to the best organized trades united in the Trade Union at London, under the leadership of Lovett, the Owenite. The other, which was called the "party of physical force," was made up of the mass of poorer labourers (weavers, spinners, etc.), led by two Irish orators, O'Connor and O'Brien. O'Connor, a man of gigantic height, fine presence, and powerful voice, and very excitable temperament (he died a maniac), had been a Radical Irish member of Parliament in 1832, and in 1837 had just founded the London Democratic Association and the *Northern Star*, a paper which became the official organ of the Chartists. He announced his intention of appealing "to unshorn chins and calloused hands," and reproached Lovett and his followers with not being true workingmen. O'Brien, also a Radical, had edited an illegal newspaper, and had imbibed a little communism in translating the history of Babeuf from the French.*

* See p. 141.

Actual violence was, however, confined to a few local outbreaks. At Birmingham, whither the Chartist Convention had transported itself, there was a night meeting, a riotous attack on the police, a procession, followed by the destruction of a number of houses and shops. The ministry, alarmed at this outbreak, had a law passed permitting cities to organize a regular police force like that in London; they had the Chartist leaders arrested and condemned for seditious writings and speeches. There was only one real attempt at insurrection, the attack on Newport in Wales by an armed band.

Second. In 1842 wages had been lowered and the workingmen in the north struck. The associations sent delegates to a conference to discuss means for obtaining a return to the wages of 1840. The Chartists took advantage of this to urge all labourers to cease work until the Charter should become the law of the land; the general strike, proposed in 1834 to secure a working day of eight hours, became a political agency. The strike failed for lack of funds. They then called for signatures to a new petition, and presented it with, it is said, more than 3,000,000 names attached. The government refused to receive it. The Radical workingmen tried to come to an agreement with the middle-class Radicals in a conference at Birmingham. The middle-class Radicals proposed to replace the "People's Charter" with a "Bill of Popular Rights." O'Connor prevented the agreement.

The Trade Unions then broke away from the Chartist movement and, renouncing boisterous agitation and intimidation, tried to improve the condition of the workingmen by coming to an understanding with the employers and demanding labour reforms from Parliament. A "National Association of Trades united for the Protection of Labour" was formed which recommended conciliation by arbitration and the use of influence with members of Parliament. This was the new peaceable policy which was to take the place of the Chartist agitation.

The Chartists remaining in the movement followed O'Connor. Returning to an old idea of Owen's to support labourers out of work by distributing land to them, he created a society for the purpose of buying up large estates, and dividing them up into small farms to be given out by lot to his followers (1846). This "National Land Company" ended in 1848 in bankruptcy.

Third. The Revolution of 1848 in France aroused the Chartists to their last effort. Once more they held a convention at Lon-

don (April, 1848); once more they prepared an enormous petition. O'Connor announced a mass-meeting and a great procession to carry the petition to Parliament. The ministry became alarmed and declared it illegal to hold a meeting to escort a petition "accompanied by an excessive number of persons"; they called on Wellington and intrusted to him the peace of London. The old general stationed troops in the city as if for battle, and enrolled the middle class of London as special constables, to the number of 170,000. The meeting was held, but they stopped the procession, and O'Connor alone carried the petition to Parliament in a hackney coach. The petition was examined by a special committee; instead of the 5,716,000 signatures announced by O'Connor, they found only 1,975,000, and some of those spurious (the Queen, Wellington, Pug Nose). This was the end of the Chartist agitation.

The Irish Agitation.—While the Chartists were stirring up England, the Catholics were stirring up Ireland. A powerful orator, O'Connell, whose fame had spread all over Europe, had just organized into a party the great Catholic mass of the Irish population. To tell the truth, he was not simply the leader of a party, he was the life and soul of it. The Irish, unaccustomed to public affairs, had no political life; they obeyed their priests, voted for the candidates of the clergy, and came in a body to the meetings organized by O'Connell, where they went wild over the enthusiastic discourses of their leader.

O'Connell declared that he belonged to the Liberal Catholic party, which had just been formed in Europe; he demanded for the Catholic Church only liberty and equality with the other churches, he did not care to have it an established church. He thus spoke at once in the name of liberty and equality, in the name of the Catholic religion, in the name of the oppressed Irish nation; and this attracted to him the sympathies of revolutionists, Catholics, and patriots, which made him the most popular man in all Europe. Since the reform of 1829 the Irish Catholics had had the political rights of voting and sitting in Parliament, but they remained subject to all the old systematically organized dependence on the Protestants; justices of the peace, police officials, criminal juries, justices of the Supreme Court, grand juries charged with the power of taxation, municipal corporations, all the men invested with authority, were Protestants. The official church was the Anglican Church; in some parts of Ireland it had almost no members, but it possessed estates and in addition re-

'ceived tithes and a church "cess" for the support of places of worship, from all the inhabitants, that is to say, from Catholic as well as Protestant peasants. Finally the government deprived the Irish Catholics of the liberty of holding meetings.

O'Connell seems to have hesitated between two tactics; now he demanded from the English Parliament reforms in detail—liberty of holding meetings, a more equal distribution of power between the Catholics and Protestants, and above all the abolition of tithes. By agitating for repeal of the Act of Union, he tried to get restored to Ireland the self-government which she had enjoyed before the Union. In 1831 he formed a committee to obtain signatures to a petition against the Union, but the government prosecuted him. As early as 1832 he had founded an association to demand autonomy, but it was thrice dissolved. But in the Parliament elected after the Reform Act of 1832, O'Connell ceased to fight the English government, and supported the Liberal ministry, profiting by the meetings of the House of Commons to air the grievances of the Irish against the English supremacy.

The Irish refused any longer to pay tithes to the Anglican clergy. Some of the collectors were murdered; of 104,000 pounds sterling, only 12,000 were paid in. The ministry made a partial reform, suppressing 12 of the 22 Anglican bishops, and abolishing the tax for the support of the Church buildings. But it was divided on the question of the Irish Church. The better to oppose the Conservatives, the Irish party, nicknamed "O'Connell's tail," joined the Liberals and secured to them a majority in the House (1835).

After King William's death O'Connell supported Queen Victoria, believing her in danger from the Duke of Cumberland and the Tory party. He even declared that he would "gather together 500,000 brave Irishmen to defend the beloved young woman who sits on the throne."

In return for this the Liberal ministry secured the passage of the bill of 1838: the tithes were no longer to be paid by the peasant, but by the landlord. The Commons had voted an even more sweeping reform, but the Lords rejected it. Ireland had no system of poor relief, but in 1838 a "poor law" was passed which provided for the creation of one.

But the Liberal ministry had little by little lost its popularity in England, perhaps because of its reforms, perhaps because of the business crisis, and also because it was upheld by "the

Irish Papists." In the elections of 1837 it still had a majority, but owed it to the members from Scotland and Ireland, the Conservatives having once more carried England. Its Radical supporters were offended at several of its measures, particularly one dealing with Jamaica. In 1839 the ministry had to confess to a continued deficit. After a vote in which it had a majority of only 5, it felt itself so weak that it resigned. The leader of the Conservatives, Peel, charged with the formation of a ministry, could not agree with the Queen as to the retirement of certain ladies-in-waiting who were wives or sisters of Liberal ministers. The Queen refused to dismiss the ladies; Peel abandoned the attempt to form a ministry, and the Liberal ministry resumed control. But the deficit increased to two millions sterling in 1841. The ministry, to remedy this, proposed to lower the import duties on sugar and timber, and to adopt a fixed duty of a shilling a bushel on wheat, instead of the sliding scale. Their measures were condemned by a majority of 36. They dissolved the House, and for the first time since the Reform Bill there was returned a Conservative majority. The Irish party in the House was reduced one-half. The government was intrusted to a Conservative ministry, under Peel.

O'Connell began once more to call for radical reform. He reconstructed the league for repeal of the Union, and, adopting the Chartist policy, he organized the agitation on a grand scale. He started a newspaper, and held great mass-meetings to demand home rule for Ireland.

Like the Chartists, the Irish, in demanding political reform, were seeking social reform. The population increased rapidly (from 6,800,000 in 1826 to 7,760,000 in 1836 and 8,670,000 in 1841), the land being divided up more and more. Official inquiry in 1835 reported the sufferings of the agricultural population as beyond description. The peasants almost invariably lived in squalor in little windowless mud cabins, often under the same roof with their pigs and cows, having no clothing but rags, and no food but potatoes. In addition to all this they were still dependent upon the caprice of the landlord, who could turn them out at will without compensation. The Irish desired first of all a guarantee against this arbitrary power; they demanded fixed tenure—that is to say, the right of the peasant to his land.

The year 1843 was one of great agitation. O'Connell said that the Queen had the right to convoke a Parliament for Ireland and

prophesied that such a Parliament would meet within the year. Within three months thirty mass-meetings were held in Ireland; that at Tara, where 250,000 men assembled, voted the re-establishment of the Irish Parliament. O'Connell declared that he would conquer "by legal, peaceful, constitutional means and through the electrical power of public opinion."

He called together a mass-meeting at Clontarf near Dublin. But the government had just passed a law which forbade unauthorized possession of firearms in Ireland; it forbade this meeting and sent troops to prevent it. O'Connell, wishing to do nothing illegal, implored his constituents to disperse. He was nevertheless arrested, tried, and condemned, by a jury wholly Protestant, for plotting and inciting hatred and contempt against the government. The sentence was set aside by the House of Lords by reason of irregularity of procedure; and O'Connell, set at liberty, was received in triumph by the crowd. But his health was broken and he retired from the contest. Like the peaceable agitation of the Chartists, that of the Irish was powerless against the English aristocratic government. By means of prohibition, employment of troops, and prosecutions, both agitations were put down.

The Free-Trade Agitation.—At the same time that the Chartists were working for universal suffrage and the Irish for home rule, a free-trade party was working to obtain another sweeping reform, the destruction of the ancient protective system. The party was organized first to procure the abolition of the import duties on grain, and was known as the Anti-Corn-Law League. The two Protestant aristocracies which together controlled England joined forces against the Irish agitation for repeal of the Union; but on the question of the Corn Laws the interests of the two were in competition. The landed aristocracy wished to preserve the duties which kept wheat at a high price and consequently kept rents high; the manufacturing aristocracy wished to lower the price of bread, so as to be able to lower the wages of the workmen.

The free trade party was made up chiefly among the middle-class manufacturers and merchants; it had its centre at Manchester, where they had built the Free Trade Hall, as a home for the Free Trade Club. The early leader was Villiers, a member of Parliament; but the movement was presently taken in charge by Richard Cobden, a cotton merchant, who gave his life to the cause, and John Bright, a Radical orator. These three began by

urging the repeal of the Corn Laws in Parliament, but the Commons steadily rejected the measure by heavy majorities. The party then adopted the policy of the Radicals, agitation by public meetings and speeches. Cobden and Bright travelled all over England holding meetings; they showed how the duties on wheat benefited the landlords alone and injured all other classes; the workmen by keeping up the price of their food, the manufacturers and merchants by preventing foreign countries from selling their wheat to the English and buying in return the products of English industry.

The league converted the manufacturers and was also supported by the labourers, who were working at once for the Charter and against the Corn Laws. The Liberal ministry proposed a slight reform, to establish a fixed rate of a shilling a bushel, and was defeated (1841). The Conservative ministry (Peel) which succeeded, depended on a majority of landowners hostile to the reform. But Peel was not an absolute Conservative; as in 1829, at the time of the Catholic Emancipation, he tried to face actual conditions, and to do what seemed best for the country at large. He began by restoring equilibrium in the budget by re-establishing the income tax abolished in 1816, on all incomes exceeding £150. Although established provisionally, this duty has been preserved and has become one of the foundations of English finance. Peel also carried a lessening of the duties on wheat against the wish of a fraction of his party. The equilibrium of the budget was not only restored, there was a surplus instead of a deficit. Peel took advantage of this to carry another reform in the direction of free trade, abolishing what remained of the export duties and lowering the import duties, in spite of the misgivings of his own party.

Peel, in maintaining the grain duties, hoped to keep up a sufficient home production to guard England against famine in case of war. The famine of 1845 showed him that the population had become too large to be able to live on native products alone. The potato blight suddenly deprived the Irish of their ordinary food, and there ensued a famine in Ireland, thousands of people dying of starvation. Peel, in order to save the Irish, decided to demand the abolition of the wheat duties; but as some of his fellow ministers would only agree to a suspension of them, he thought it best to resign. But the Liberals could not form a ministry, so Peel resumed power and succeeded in carrying the repeal of the Corn Laws, against the majority of his own party,

by the aid of the Liberal minority. The bill was passed by 223 Liberals and 104 Conservatives against 229 Conservatives. Wellington induced the Lords to accept it (1846).

The Chartist and Irish agitations had been directed against both of the controlling classes; free trade in wheat was imposed on the landed aristocracy by the industrial middle class.

Industrial Legislation.—While the workingmen were struggling to obtain radical reform, a number of philanthropists were trying by means of small reforms to improve the condition of workmen in the large factories. These men were not Radicals, some of the most active leaders were Conservatives (Ashley); others were writers and preachers (Kingsley, Denison) who were moved by the sufferings of the poor. They demanded, in the name of humanity and Christian charity, that laws should be passed to protect workmen against the neglect and avarice of their employers. They had great trouble in convincing Parliament of the need of these laws; all liberal schools of political economy of the time taught that the state should leave employers and workmen to settle between themselves the conditions of labour, and never interfere. All industrial legislation seemed a violation of the "freedom of contract."

The reformers began with the workers who were at once the most wretched and the least capable of defending themselves, the children. As early as 1802 an epidemic at Manchester had obliged Parliament to interfere for the protection of the "parish apprentices," that is to say, the children of paupers; the parish hired them out to manufacturers, who made them work night and day in the cotton mills, as soon as they were seven years of age. The law of 1802 forbade working them more than 12 hours a day, and made other provisions for their protection. But this law was limited to the "apprentices." In 1819 an act was passed extending the provisions of 1802 to all children employed in the cotton factories, with the addition that no children under the age of nine should be so employed.

In 1831 it was decided to create a commission of inquiry to study the question. The inquiry revealed a state of affairs so lamentable that the Tory philanthropist Ashley procured the passage of the Factory Act of 1833. This act extended the protective provision to *all children* employed in factories, irrespective of the condition of their parents. It fixed a maximum working day of 8 hours (48 hours a week) for children under 13 years, a maximum of 12 hours (69 hours a week) for young persons from

13 to 18 years of age; it forbade night work. To oversee the execution of this law factory inspectors were appointed. This was the first break in the absolute authority of employers in their factories, the beginning of industrial legislation, the foundation of supervising boards.

The reform went on slowly, by little measures successively wrung from the members of Parliament. The Conservative party helped to pass them, through opposition to the manufacturers of the Liberal party.

A law was passed forbidding the truck system or payment of wages in kind (the employer had a shop, where he expected his workmen to get their supplies, deducting from their wages the price of the articles bought).

Another law forbade the employment of children as chimney sweeps.

The great reform was the Labour in Mines Act of 1842, passed under the influence of a pitiful report by an investigating commission. It was discovered that children five years old were made to work twelve hours a day in mines ill supplied with air and full of water, in company with ruffians who ill-treated them; that hardly a twentieth of these boys could read; that little girls were harnessed to small wagons of coal and required to pull them through passages that were not high enough to stand up in. Parliament passed a sweeping reform, forbidding all underground work for women and for children under 10 years of age; also providing for the appointment of inspectors of mines.

The Factory Act of 1844 forbade the employment of children under 9 in textile industries, lowered the maximum hours of labour for children to 6½ daily, and ordered them sent to school for a part of each day. A few years later a law was passed fixing 10½ hours as the maximum day for women and young persons employed in factories.

Industrial legislation extended gradually to almost all industries, until the act of 1878 consolidated all the partial measures into a sort of code. These laws protected only women and children, grown men being considered capable of protecting themselves. In reality, however, in those mills which employed both men and women, the hours of labour were limited by the legal maximum for women and the men profited by it.

The Irish Crisis (1845-48.)—When the English government had put an end to the Irish agitation for home rule, the great mass of the national party, influenced by O'Connell and the Catholic

priests, resigned themselves to a peaceful attitude. But the more ardent young men detached themselves and formed the *Young Ireland* party, which broke with O'Connell. It was a lay party, democratic and revolutionary, which was unwilling to obey the clergy and talked of establishing Irish independence by force of arms.

Peel tried to make a reconciliation with the peaceable wing of the Irish. In order to win over the priests, he increased from £9000 to £26,000 the annual grant to the Maynooth Colleges, the Irish theological seminaries; this in spite of a furious outcry on the part of ultra Protestants (1845). To win over the peasantry, he appointed a commission of inquiry to study means for improving the condition of the tenantry. He then proposed to extend to all Ireland some features of the tenant-right prevailing in Ulster; but the House of Lords rejected the plan (1845) and the reform scheme fell through. Peel tried to soothe the hatred between the Protestants and Catholics by creating in the south, west, and north of Ireland three neutral colleges to be affiliated with Dublin University; but the Irish clergy condemned the scheme, and Catholic youth have not attended in great numbers. Then came the failure of the potato crop (1845) and the great famine of 1846. The starving peasants swarmed into the cities to pick up scraps of victuals; they ate herbs and lichens; the roads were strewn with corpses. The surplus population perished from hunger or emigrated to America; at a rough estimate the population of Ireland dropped from 8,170,000 in 1845 to 6,500,000 in 1851, and since that time it has been steadily decreasing (5,100,000 in 1881, 4,700,000 in 1891).

To curb the revolutionary spirits, Peel proposed a bill regulating the possession of arms in Ireland. The Conservative protectionists seized the chance to avenge themselves for the abolition of the Corn Laws; they voted with the Liberal minority. Peel, defeated, handed in his resignation. The Russell ministry, supported by a coalition of Liberals and Peelites, continued Peel's policy.

The ministry proposed to protect the Irish tenant against the power of the landlord and to permit the sale of portions of those entailed estates which were burdened with too heavy mortgages (more than half the income of Irish estates was absorbed by mortgages). They hoped by getting portions of these sold to solvent buyers to replace the debt-laden landlords with prosperous men who could apply capital to improve the wretched farming

prevalent in Ireland. But Parliament rejected the portion of the plan especially designed for the tenantry, and passed only the bill relating to encumbered estates (1849). In later years the new landlords purchasing under the encumbered estates act proved to be more ready to evict the peasants than the old landlords had been. The peasants on their side have been but too ready to avenge eviction by murder.

All at once the revolutions of '48 aroused Young Ireland; clubs were formed, an address was sent to the provisional government of France to ask for its aid. The English government had exceptional laws passed, and arrested 118 leaders of the party. An armed band attempted an outbreak; it was surrounded and captured by the police in a potato field. The leaders were transported (1848). Political activity came to an end in Ireland.

Period of Inaction and Democratic Evolution (1849-65).— The Conservative party, divided on the Corn Laws, remained long in a weak state. The bulk of the protectionist party pulled itself together again slowly under the leadership of Bentinck, who died in 1848, and later under Derby and Disraeli; the dissidents who had followed Peel in his conversion to free trade (the Peelites) joined the Liberals. The Liberal party, in minority since 1841, regained a majority through a dissolution of the House (1847), and kept it until the election of 1874; it gradually absorbed most of the Peelites, giving them place in every Liberal ministry; one of these, Gladstone, ended by becoming leader of the Liberal party.

Although the Liberals held the majority all the time, the ministry changed several times, once owing to rivalry between the two Liberal leaders, Russell and Palmerston. The Conservatives were twice enabled to take command for a period of several months (1852, 1858-59).

This was a period of political inaction. The Liberals had exhausted their reform program.* They completed the establishment of free trade by repealing the Navigation Act (1849), by abolishing most of the remaining duties, and by concluding with France the treaty of commerce of 1860. They timidly increased the appropriation for schools (164,000 pounds sterling in 1851, 813,000 in 1861) and made the appropriation proportionate to the number of scholars (1853).

*The Ecclesiastical Titles bill was passed (1851) to soothe the Protestants. It forbade the assumption of titles taken from English cities by Catholic bishops. It never was enforced, and was repealed in 1871.

Public life was dominated at that time by questions of foreign policy. Napoleon's *coup d'état* forced the retirement of Palmerston, who had approved it; the Crimean War restored Palmerston to power (1855); the Sepoy Rebellion (1857) led to the suppression of the India Company; the Chinese War, discountenanced by the House of Commons, led to a dissolution which gave Palmerston a majority (1857); the Orsini conspiracy (1858) brought about his fall. Finally, after a short Conservative ministry, Palmerston was restored to office in 1859 and retained the position until his death in 1865.

This was a period of material prosperity. England's commerce, her production, her wealth, all increased rapidly. The number of paupers decreased from 1,429,000 in 1842 (maximum) to 890,000 in 1861; the number of criminals from 31,000 in 1842 (maximum) to 18,000 in 1861; drunkenness diminished, the government having raised the duty on spirits from 2 to 16 shillings and lowered the duty on tea from 26 to 6 pence.

The condition of the workingmen improved. It was during this period that the trades unions gradually built up the central organization which was destined later to bind the workingmen into common action. It was established without a prearranged plan for practical reasons. Each trade union was at first only an association of men working at the same trade in the same city, a simple society for mutual support, with a fund, made up by regular contributions, for giving aid in case of funerals, sickness, destitution, or change of residence. The society elected a board which represented it in discussing collective interests with the employers. Many unions had a special fund for help in case of a strike, but it was made up of special contributions.

Between the unions of different trades in the same town, and between the unions of the same trade in different towns, there naturally sprang up federations, to receive workmen moving from one place to another and to harmonize common decisions among all the workmen of the same region. Each of these federations had also a board, made up of elected delegates. Finally general associations were formed of all the unions of the same trade in all parts of England, of Scotland, or of all Great Britain. A general congress of delegates was convoked when there were special questions to be decided; but ordinary affairs, especially matters of finance, which had become very complicated, could no longer be left to the zeal of ordinary members who gave up their evenings to writing. There were now salaried secre-

taries, workingmen elected by their comrades, who gave up their trade to serve the union exclusively. Thus was formed an official "general staff" of workingmen, who made a business of defending their class interests.

The united movement of English workingmen, interrupted in 1843, began again, but this time under their own leaders and with a definite object. The general secretaries of the principal associations—mechanics, carpenters, masons—meeting in London became accustomed to working in concert. They then succeeded in founding a common organ for the trade unions, the Council of the Unions. Officially this organization had no political motive, its purpose being to discuss with employers the terms of labour contracts. Unlike the Chartists, the leaders of the movement rejected all thought of a political program. They had adopted the liberal doctrine of the English middle classes, which deprecated state interference in labour contracts. They relied on the power given by association as of sufficient strength to oppose the employers. But they were handicapped by the laws restraining the right of striking; to get rid of these laws they must gain influence over members of Parliament. They therefore perceived the necessity of establishing a voting force, and, abandoning the principle of political neutrality, they joined the Radicals in the demand for the extension of the suffrage to workingmen.

The Electoral Reform of 1867.—The reform question came up after the death of Palmerston in 1865. Two projects of electoral reform, one proposed by the Conservative ministry (1859), the other by the Liberal ministry (1860), had been rejected by the Commons. The new Liberal ministry (Russell-Gladstone) brought forward a scheme (1866) to lower the franchise by reducing the value of lands and houses qualifying for the privilege of voting; but a fraction of the Liberal party, nicknamed the Adullamites,* joined themselves to the Conservatives to carry an amendment cutting down the proposed extension of the voting right. The ministry retired (1866) and was succeeded by a Conservative ministry under Lord Derby.

The Conservatives were in a minority. The ministry depended for its support on the coalition of Conservatives and Adullamites, who opposed electoral reform. Then the workingmen took the matter up. Reviving the Radical policy of 1831, they organized

* So nicknamed by John Bright, the allusion being to the Bible story which tells how all who were discontented gathered themselves in the Cave of Adullam.—1 Samuel. xxii. 2.

mass-meetings. The movement was directed by the "National Reform League," whose council was made up in part of the official leaders of the workingmen, the secretaries of the trade unions. The meeting at Trafalgar Square in London made a strong declaration in favour of reform. Another meeting was called at Hyde Park, but the government had the park closed; the mob, in spite of the police, smashed the railings and invaded the park. The government withdrew the police. Then, until the end of 1866, meetings were held in all the great industrial cities of the northwest and Scotland, demanding universal suffrage.

The Conservative ministry at first declined to present a specific project of reform; they asked the House of Commons to develop a series of resolutions embodying the wishes of the members regardless of party lines. The Liberals declined to accept this proposal. Disraeli, who had long favoured a wide suffrage, then prevailed on his colleagues to submit a definite scheme as a Cabinet measure. The decision was not, however, unanimous; three dissatisfied ministers retired. The project, strongly amended in the Commons, became the reform act of 1867 (1868 for Scotland and Ireland).

As in 1832 this was only a partial reform consisting of two measures; a redistribution of seats, and a lowering of the franchise. The redistribution took away 58 seats from the smaller boroughs; 11 were deprived of all representation, 35 were reduced to 1 member each. Of the seats thus gained 19 were given to English urban constituencies, 9 to Scotland, and 30 to the counties. The franchise or voting qualification was granted in counties to occupying tenants-at-will of property worth £12 a year (previously £50). The £10 freehold, leasehold, and copyhold qualification was reduced to £5. In boroughs votes were given to all householders (previously the house had to be worth £10 a year), also to lodgers in tenements whose lodgings were worth £10 a year unfurnished.

The reform did not do away with the unequal representation in the counties; it was estimated that 125 members represented 12,500,000 persons, while 158 members represented 7,500,000. The boroughs with a population under 50,000 had 230 deputies for 3,280,000 persons, those with a population above 50,000 having 130 deputies for 11,537,000 persons. The reform preserved the character of privilege in the right of voting. It demanded further one year's residence before a man had the right to in-

scribe himself as a voter. But it doubled the voting body in the English counties and boroughs, and trebled it in the Scottish boroughs. In the cities the increase was especially great. In short, the reform enfranchised nearly all the workingmen of the cities, and England entered upon the democratic era.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND SOURCES.—See bibliography under chap. ii. The documents are of the same nature as for the preceding period. The reviews are becoming more numerous and more important; in addition to those already given, the *Westminster Review*, the *Saturday Review*, and the *Fortnightly Review*.

Under the head of correspondence, memoirs, and speeches, in addition to the documents common to the two periods indicated under the preceding chapter (**Peel, Russell, Palmerston, Greville, Croker**) the most important are: **Malmesbury**, "Memoirs of an Ex-Minister," 2 vols. 1884; **Iddesleigh** (Stafford Northcote), Life, by Lang, 2 vols., 1890; **Prince Consort**, Life, by Martin, 5 vols., 1880, has much original material for political history; **O'Connell, T. Davis**, 1890, both on the Irish agitation; **Gammage**, "Hist. of Chartism," 1854, on the Chartist agitation.

WORKS.—ON THE GENERAL HISTORY.—See chap. ii.

In addition to **Gardiner, Martineau, Walpole**, and the "National Biography," mentioned under chap ii., there is a general history of England from 1830 to 1871, 3 vols., by **Molesworth**; also a history since Victoria's accession: by **Justin McCarthy**, "Hist of Our Own Times," 5 vols., extending to 1897. The series entitled, "Prime Ministers of Queen Victoria," 1890–91, is a collection of biographies of the ministers, Peel, Aberdeen, Palmerston, Gladstone Beaconsfield, and Salisbury, by different authors.

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The chief works are: **Todd, Gneist**, and, in French, **Franqueville.—Cox**, "Institutions of the English government," 1863, an excellent account for that date.

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ON INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT.—A collection entitled "The Reign of Queen Victoria, a survey of fifty years of prosperity," 6 vols., 1888; each author has treated one subject: **Huxley**, the natural sciences; **Hatch**, religion; **Courtney**, finance; **Garnett**, literature; **Caird**, agriculture, and **Matthew**, education.

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CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND AS A DEMOCRACY.

Conditions of Political Life.—The electoral reform of 1867, by transforming the voting body, changed the conditions of political life in England. Voters became much more numerous; elections were more generally contested; in the cities and boroughs the workingmen gained the political control. Almost everywhere since 1867 the voters have formed a popular mass too numerous to be bought, or controlled by a great lord.

The parties have been obliged to adapt themselves to this democratic transformation; they have adopted the custom originated in the United States of organizing a permanent association to disseminate the party principles and direct party operations in time of election. The Liberals set the example by founding a league with its centre at Birmingham, and the Conservatives have copied them. There existed already an organization of the parties in Parliament, each having its recognised leader and its whippers-in charged with bringing out the full strength of the party for important votes. Parliament has preserved its ancient custom of having no pay for members, and of voting openly by division. Those members who have private business to carry on are often absent from London; they must be summoned when their vote is needed.

Each party has founded a correspondence bureau, to keep in touch with its voters, with a permanent central committee and local committees; as in the United States, election programs have become party manifestos, and an attempt is made to sum up each party's policy in a short and striking formula to serve as the battle-cry for its adherents.

Representatives have become more dependent on the voters, the House of Commons having become more representative. Parliamentary rule has become more systematic; the House of Commons is the sovereign power, no ministry daring to govern without the support of its majority.

The parties have held their ground in their old strongholds. The Conservative party still depends chiefly on the voters of the English counties, that is to say, on the territory still controlled by the Church and the landed gentry. The Liberals have the voters of the boroughs and cities, chiefly in the manufacturing regions of the north and west of England, the English Dissenters opposed to the Anglican clergy, and the greater part of Scotland, a democratic country; its electoral forces have increased. But the House of Commons itself has been transformed. The old aristocratic Whigs, hostile to the workingmen, have gradually disappeared; a new generation of middle-class Radicals has appeared, elected by the working classes, with a democratic policy. The English system of election by plurality vote, without second ballots, compels the opponents of the Conservatives to combine their votes on a single candidate. It thus prevents the formation of a distinct Radical party. The Liberal party has become a permanent coalition of old Liberals and Radicals which little by little has come to adopt the Radical program. The Liberal leader Gladstone, who began his career as a Peelite Conservative, has been won over by a continuous evolution to the Radical standard. The Conservatives have maintained their policy of steadily opposing all new reforms, though never attempting to undo those already established. But it has also taken on a more democratic appearance.

Gladstone's Reforms (1868-74).—The Conservative ministry of which Disraeli had become head (February, 1868) by the retirement of Derby, maintained itself without a majority until the end of 1868. They put off the election of a new Parliament until the new lists of voters should be ready, in accordance with the Act of 1867.

The elections held after the system had been reformed returned a heavy Liberal majority (387 against 271), given by the boroughs and by Scotland. The Adullamites, or aristocratic Whigs, had disappeared; the Liberals, elected by a coalition of Liberal and Radical voters, entered on a reform program which had been explained to the voters. There were two leading reform projects. Gladstone, a Liberal-Conservative, leader of the Liberal-Radical coalition, had spoken above all of reform for Ireland. Bright, leader of the Radicals, stood for free elementary education, land reform to give peasants bits of ground, abolition of duties on tea and sugar to give workingmen "a free breakfast table," and a cut in the expenses of the army and navy.

As after 1832, the electoral reform stimulated Parliamentary activity, and the Liberal majority undertook a series of reforms to satisfy its Irish and Radical allies.

Gladstone began with Ireland. After the famine and emigration of 1848, the Irish had passed through a long period of depression without political life. Then a new national party was organized with the aid of the Irish established in the United States. It took the form of a secret society, with an initiatory oath, night meetings, and a symbolic standard, and gave to itself the name of *Fenians* (a name taken from the legendary history of Ireland). It was a revolutionary republican party, wishing to establish the Republic of Ireland by an armed revolt against England; it counted on the Irish-Americans who had just served in the two armies during the Civil War; it hoped also to attract the Irish soldiers who were so numerous in the English army. The Irish people secretly encouraged the movement (there were even, in 1861, great demonstrations in honour of the national martyrs).

The government had seized the secret printing-press of the Fenian newspaper, arrested and condemned the leaders of the party (1865). But the party had reorganized itself. The Fenians remaining in the United States had tried to invade Canada. Those who had come from America, officers and soldiers of the American army, had prepared for a general uprising in Ireland (March, 1867); this was a failure. The Fenians tried to agitate in England also; one of them, Kelly, an American general, plotted to seize the arms in the Chester arsenal, but he was caught and taken away; a band of Fenians attacked the carriage in which he was being carried away and freed him; three of these men were executed and were celebrated by the Irish as martyrs. Another Fenian general was confined in a prison in London; an attempt was made to blow up the prison (1867).

These two incidents attracted the attention of the English. Gladstone declared that reforms had become necessary in Ireland. Like Peel in 1845, he proposed not to satisfy the revolutionists by granting home rule, but to appease the mass of the population, the clergy, and the peasants. It was necessary, he said, to make law as much respected in Ireland as in England, and, in order to make it respected, they must first convince the people that law is a friend, not an enemy. Following this principle, the ministry carried two reforms:

First. They disestablished and disendowed the Anglican

Church in Ireland. They disendowed it by taking from it its tithes and estates, the whole valued at sixteen million pounds sterling. The proceeds were divided into three parts: the largest went as compensation to the rectors and others having "vested interests" in the Church, which was to become an unofficial corporation; the second part went to assist the two other Irish churches, the Presbyterian and the Catholic, and the third to be a fund for the establishment of charitable institutions (hospitals and asylums).* This was not a radical measure, for the Anglican Church of Ireland retained its buildings and was still very rich; but the reform put an end to the official inequality between the churches, which was offensive to the majority (1869-71).

Second. To better the condition of the peasants the ministry passed the Land Act of 1870. This gave the force of law to the custom of the Protestant province of Ulster, where the landlord was under obligation, by force of custom, not to raise the rent arbitrarily, nor to evict the tenant without paying him a compensation to reimburse him for all improvements made in the land. A similar right to compensation for eviction was extended to the three Catholic provinces, in the hope of protecting the Irish peasants against eviction. But the measure had little effect; as the landlords preserved the right to "contract out of the Act" at will, they made use of it to force their tenants to forego the advantages of the new law.

At the same time, to oppose the revolutionists, the government passed a Coercion Act, instituting a special system for Ireland.

In England the Liberal ministry, to satisfy the Radicals, carried a reform in primary education. The old Liberals had contented themselves with an appropriation for private schools; the Act of 1870 made primary instruction obligatory. In all those regions where the private schools seemed insufficient, the government received the right to institute a school board, elected by the taxpayers, which was empowered to levy a tax for building and maintaining public schools, to compel parents to send their children to school, and to exempt the poor from the school fees. The public schools had to be non-sectarian, but the Bible

* The amount given to the Catholics and Presbyterians (£1,120,000) was fourteen times the annual grants they had been receiving under the name of the Maynooth Grant and the *Regium Donum*. These annual grants were then discontinued. The third part, known as the Irish Church Surplus, has been drawn on for many purposes; a portion of it was used, under the Act of 1882, to pay off the rents of tenants who were in arrears.—TR.

might be taught. The educational committee became a sort of ministry of instruction, charged with the organization and direction of the schools. It was a system of public education, compulsory and independent of the Church, but which at the same time did not interfere with private, voluntary, and sectarian schools.

The ministry abolished the old custom of purchase in the English army. They had carried the measure in the House of Commons, but the Lords rejected it; they then accomplished the reform by royal order, withdrawing the royal warrant on which the system of purchasing commissions rested (1871).

Finally the ministry, carrying out the promise made to the Radicals, reformed the voting process. The Radicals since 1832 had been vainly calling for secret ballot, to make voters independent, and to sustain them against the pressure of the aristocracy and clergy. The reform of 1867 had preserved the ancient system of *viva voce* voting. The old parties had held to this because it gave landlords an opportunity to observe the votes of their tenants; they defended it theoretically on the ground that voting, being a public function, should be carried on in public. At last (1872) the Liberal party resigned itself to the establishment of the secret ballot. They followed the plan invented by the English democratic colony of Victoria in Australia: the election officer has a ticket printed containing the names of all the candidates; each voter receives this ticket and marks with a cross the candidate for whom he votes.

Gladstone next proposed to establish in Ireland a university independent of the Church (1873); but the majority would no longer follow him; they rejected the scheme.

Trade Union Legislation.—The workingmen who had aided in bringing about the electoral reform now called for a reform in the laws governing associations. Their professional syndicates, the trade unions, were simply tolerated, not recognised; the Act of 1825 (see chapter ii.) permitted coalition between workingmen, but with certain restrictions so interpreted that justices of the peace might condemn to imprisonment labourers who abused a comrade unwilling to strike. The old law regarding *Master and Servant* recognised the legal inequality between employer and employee; if an employer broke the contract or discharged the employee, he had only to pay damages; if the employee broke the contract, he incurred the penalty of three months' imprisonment, a single justice of the peace having the power to arrest

and condemn him without appeal. In these cases the employer could testify; the employee, being the accused, could not. During the single year of 1863 it was estimated that there had been more than ten thousand prosecutions of workingmen.

In the period of industrial prosperity which followed 1860 a great strike was made for a rise of wages and a lessening of the hours of labour. The employers retaliated with *lock-outs*, and, as formerly in 1834 (see chapter iii.), with the demand that no man working for them should belong to a union.

Some workmen in Sheffield avenged themselves by violence—on one occasion by the use of dynamite in destroying buildings (1866). Public opinion attributed these acts to the influence of the trade unions, and it became the custom in England for some years to curse the unions for throwing workingmen into wretchedness by exciting them to strikes or working on their fears to make them submit to the despotic orders of the unions. Secretaries of associations were represented as adventurers who lived at the expense of the labouring classes. The government appointed a commission of inquiry on the abuses committed by the unions within the last ten years (1857-67). A judicial decree of 1867 decided that trade unions should not enjoy the rights accorded to mutual aid societies, on the ground that they were a hindrance to industry. It was, however, proved by the secretaries of the federations that the unions not only were guiltless of acts of violence, but that, so far from promoting strikes, they aided in preventing them and made the workingmen less aggressive.

The investigation directed against the trade unions resulted to their advantage. The report of the commission recommended that they should be recognised and allowed all forms of coalition.

The Liberal ministry, following this advice, passed the Act of 1871, which recognised trade unions as capable of holding property and of maintaining and defending actions at law. But to satisfy the great manufacturers they passed at the same time an amendment to the criminal law. This amendment forbade strikers, under penalty of imprisonment, to station "pickets" to warn outside labourers that their comrades were on a strike, or to beg them not to hinder the strike, or even to keep a watch on men who returned to work. Strikes were made lawful, but all means of making them succeed remained illegal. Seven women were imprisoned for crying "Bah!" at at passing workman who had abandoned the strike.

The trade unions revived the agitation for the repeal of this law. Their common central organ, created in 1867, the "Association of United Trades" was replaced by a Parliamentary committee (1871) charged with the task of influencing members of Parliament. This committee demanded the repeal of the Act of 1871; Gladstone refused it. The working classes then abandoned the Liberal party, which was put in a minority at the general election of 1874.

The Imperialist Policy of the Conservative Ministry (1874-80).—The Liberal ministry had little by little lost its majority; it had alienated the Dissenters by accepting the church schools as part of the new system and by allowing religious instruction to be given in the public schools; it had alienated the working classes by refusing to repeal the Act of 1871. Gladstone dissolved Parliament. In the new House of Commons, elected in January, 1874, the Conservatives for the first time since 1847, had a majority (of nearly fifty votes).

The Conservative ministry governed six and a half years with this majority. Its leader, Disraeli (made Lord Beaconsfield in 1876), had only a negative program for home affairs: to uphold the institutions of old England—royalty, the House of Lords, and the Anglican Church—against the attacks of the Radicals. But he expressed this traditional policy under a new form. Being an orator and a novelist, he inclined toward theatrical attitudes and literary forms. He was credited with aiming to give the Conservatives a policy and spirit altogether different from that of the old aristocratic Tories. He belonged to a converted Jewish family, and had come forward first as a Radical candidate expressing in his early speeches and later in the novel "Sybil" his sympathy with the Chartist labourers. Even when he had become a Conservative member, he continued to ridicule the prevailing ideas of the aristocracy; he compared the English government from 1688 to 1832 to the constitution of Venice; he accused the aristocratic families of having usurped the royal power, and talked of "emancipating the sovereign" from the tyranny of Parliament and founding a government on three forces, the monarchy, the Church, and the people. Later he declared that the Conservative party had three great objects: to preserve the national Church, to keep the English Empire intact, and to raise the condition of the people. He appealed to the people to support the sovereign and the Church; in return for which the sovereign should improve the material condition of the people, and

the Church their moral condition. His ideal was an ecclesiastical and democratic monarchy—a combination of the conceptions of Napoleon III., Bismarck, and Leo XIII. With the exception of the act of 1875 on strikes and some reforms of detail (in schools, public health, and care of the poor), the Conservative ministry did little that was noteworthy in domestic policy. It occupied itself mainly with external matters. Disraeli tried to excite English national feeling by adopting a warlike policy in the name of English honour, compromised, as he said, by Gladstone's neutral policy.

He directed this patriotic agitation toward two subjects—the English colonies and the Eastern question. The Liberal influence was tending toward the separation of the colonies from the mother country. Distant dependencies the Liberals regarded simply as a useless expense. The Conservatives declared for the "integrity of the British Empire," and looked toward tightening the bonds between England and her colonies by a military and commercial federation. The government proclaimed the Queen Empress of India. They attempted a federation of Southern Africa, which ended in the war of the Transvaal.

In the Eastern question Disraeli declared for the support of the Ottoman Empire. Gladstone checked him for a time by exciting popular opinion against the Turks as guilty of the "Bulgarian atrocities" (the title of Gladstone's pamphlet). He organized in 1876 great indignation meetings in the large cities. But Parliament decided to approve interference; England, as at the time of the Crimean War, adopted a warlike policy and played an active part in European affairs. Beaconsfield took part in the Congress of Berlin, and on his return was triumphantly received in London (1878).

The Conservative ministry also ended the Ashanti war in 1874, and began the war in Afghanistan and that against the Zulus.

Formation of the Irish Home Rule Party.—Under the Conservative ministry there sprang up in Ireland a new opposition party which by a new policy acquired a decisive influence over internal affairs in England. Until now the English had occupied themselves with Ireland only intermittently. The Irish question had faced each generation (1801, 1820-29, 1843-48, 1865-67), and it was never settled. The Irish people remained miserable and unhappy, but when they stopped active demonstrations the English forgot all about them. The Irish opposition existed no longer except in two classes of men working inde-

pendently. In Parliament there was a little group of Irish home-rule representatives, standing outside the great parties, formed of insignificant men little considered by their richer colleagues. In Ireland there was an agrarian party, made up of young men who avenged themselves for eviction by shooting landlords or their agents and by mutilating cattle. These modes of vengeance had been practised since the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century there had always been in Ireland men ready to resort to violence. *Whiteboys* and *moonlighters* were so called because they preferred to do their work at night; they did not, however, form a political party. There were still a few Fenians, but they were without organization.

The Irish had demanded first the repeal of the Act of Union, then a republic. The Parliamentary group adopted a new name, that of the Home Rule party; they demanded not complete separation, but a home government directed by an Irish Parliament.

This party at first had no influence, the House of Commons taking little account of its Irish members. The situation changed when Parnell took the leadership of the Home Rule party. He was a Protestant and of English family, but brought up in Ireland and devoted to the cause of Irish independence. He induced the party to adopt a new policy in the English Parliament and in Ireland.

In Parliament his principle was to form an Irish party entirely separate from the English parties, not allying itself to one to oppose the other as in O'Connell's time, but devoting itself to blocking the work of the Parliament. The aim was to stop the progress of English affairs and force the consideration of Irish affairs. The customs of the English Parliament, consecrated by tradition, recognised the right of every member to speak for an indefinite length of time. Now every member could propose an amendment on every line of every bill; could call for a vote by division, which takes time, and could make after each vote a motion to adjourn or raise the question whether there was a quorum present and demand a count of the House. It was therefore easy for a small number of determined members to stop the progress of business at will.

This plan, known as *obstruction*, had been a little employed by every party when in minority, but only on rare occasions. Parnell made a systematic practice of it. The Irish members, having arranged to relieve each other, began a series of discourses which were not even reported in the papers, and dragged out the

sessions interminably; in the discussion of the South Africa Act (1877) the Wednesday session lasted until two o'clock Thursday afternoon. The obstruction of the "Irish brigade" became so annoying that the House of Commons, in defiance of established custom, gave its Speaker the power to call for a vote on the suspension of any member guilty of wilfully and persistently obstructing the business of the House. In 1879 it was estimated that during a single session of Parliament a certain Irish member had spoken 500 times, another 369.

In Ireland the Parliamentary party came to an understanding with the leaders of the land party. Davitt, an old Fenian convict, brought back in 1877, started a defensive association among the peasants which presently became the "Land League"; it was founded in Galloway and then extended to all Ireland (1879). The act of 1870 did not prevent the landlord from exacting an extortionate rent nor from driving out a tenant who did not pay his rent. By reason of several short crops, coupled with a fall in prices of farm produce, many peasants could not pay their rent. The number of evictions increased accordingly (from 1269 in 1876 to 2267 in 1879). The Land League adopted a program summed up in three catchwords: 1st, *fixity of tenure*, the right of the tenant to hold his land so long as he paid his rent; 2d, *free sale*, the right of the tenant to sell his holding; 3d, *fair rent*, which was explained to be the annual value of the land in its natural state ("prairie value"). These were known as the three F's. Their intended effect was to reduce the landlord to the position of a mere rent-receiver and to transform the Irish peasants into small proprietors burdened only with a small fixed rent. To compel the landlords to yield, Parnell advised those peasants who had received notice to quit to stand by their farms until they were driven out, trusting that many landlords would shrink from the costly process of police eviction. The Land League was itself to aid peasants who resisted, the members of the League pledging themselves not to take the place of an evicted tenant.

But there was no money to carry on this struggle. Parnell called for contributions from Irish patriots in America. He made a tour of the United States, was received there as the representative of Ireland, and returned with the sum of seventy-two thousand pounds sterling (1879-80).

The Home Rule party had combined three forces, the Irish peasants, the Irish members, and the Irish in America. In Ireland it worked upon the peasants by the promise of improving

their material condition; it made them desire an Irish Parliament to make the land reform; it made them elect Home Rule candidates. In England it employed the Irish members in forcing the attention of Parliament to the Irish question with the hope of securing home rule. In America it gathered the necessary funds for the national agitation.

The party, definitely organized in 1879, elected Parnell as its leader.

Struggle between the Liberal Ministry and the Irish Party (1880-85).—The Conservative ministry had all this time kept its majority in the House of Commons. After the success of the Congress of Berlin Beaconsfield thought he could count on a majority; he dissolved Parliament in order to secure a new period of power. But the voters, probably indifferent to the foreign policy and discontented by reason of business depression and a series of bad crops, deserted the Conservatives. The elections of 1880 gave the Liberals an unexpected majority (349 Liberals, 235 Conservatives, and 63 Home Rulers).

The Liberal ministry under Gladstone, which now assumed charge of the government, was occupied with the struggle against the Irish party and with electoral reform. Abroad it began the English occupation of Egypt and came to an agreement with Russia as to the Afghan boundary.

The ministry tried in the session of 1880 to appease the Irish by a bill designed to protect tenants against eviction for non-payment of rent, in cases where the courts were satisfied that the failure to pay was due to inability. The bill was not accepted by the Irish members, and was eventually rejected by the House of Lords. In the Home Rule party those in favour of keeping up the struggle had just got the better of those who favoured alliance with the Liberals: Parnell had been re-elected as leader by a vote of twenty-three to eighteen.

The Home Rule party declared the government scheme insufficient and again demanded radical reform—the suppression of landlordism and the concession of national home rule. The Irish agitation, instead of quieting down, increased in violence. Agrarian crimes, that is to say, murders and other acts of violence against landlords, became more numerous. New devices were directed against the enemies of the League. They were put under "boycott"; no Irishman would have anything to do with them; they could find neither man nor woman willing to work for them, nor any tradesman to sell them anything. This pro-

cedure, first applied to Captain Boycott (November, 1880), became known under the name of the earliest victim. Active resistance to eviction, boycotting, and personal acts of vengeance made the situation intolerable to Irish landlords. A deputation of 105 great proprietors entreated the Viceroy of Ireland to protect them and to keep their names secret, for fear of bringing down upon them the vengeance of the League.

The government decided to fight it out. They instituted proceedings against the leaders of the League, accusing them of keeping farmers from paying their rent and landlords from renting their lands. Parnell continued his campaign in Ireland.

The government then brought up a measure providing for the repression of agrarian and political crimes in Ireland. The Irish party retaliated by organizing obstruction against this coercion bill. The session of Jan. 31, 1881, beginning Monday at four o'clock, lasted without interruption until Wednesday morning. The Speaker then refused to hear any more speeches, and the bill passed the first reading in spite of the Irish protestations. The House of Commons passed in 1881 a provisional regulation for closing debate. In 1882 it adopted a permanent rule for the compulsory close of debate, with the restriction that the Speaker alone should have the right of suggesting the proceeding, and that if forty members voted against closing debate the number of votes on the other side must be at least two hundred; otherwise the debate should go on.*

In the session of 1881 Gladstone succeeded in passing the Second Irish Land Act. This measure adopted the three F's in a modified form. It set up a Land Court in Ireland, with power to fix the rent of farms on request of either tenant or landlord. At the rent so fixed, subject however to revision at intervals of fifteen years, it gave tenants the right to hold their farms in perpetuity. It also gave them the privilege of selling their tenancies to any solvent person wishing to buy. In case of non-payment of rent, the landlord may sell the tenant-right, but must pay over to the outgoing tenant whatever sum is obtained for it, in excess of the arrears of rent. The measure was opposed and denounced by Parnell's followers in Parliament, on the ground that it was

* In 1887 the requirement was reduced to one hundred; and it was made possible for any member to move the closure without a previous intimation from the Speaker. The Speaker is, however, to decline to put the motion unless he thinks the subject in hand has been "adequately discussed."—TR.

utterly inadequate to settle Irish grievances. After it was passed they tried to prevent the peasantry from taking advantage of its provisions.

The government made use of the exceptional laws to arrest some of the Irish leaders; but the number of evictions increased. The ministry proposed a new Land Act, more favourable to the tenants. This act established a Land Court in Ireland, with power to fix the rent of farms for 15 years, and promised a state fund for the purchase and cultivation of land. But the Irish party went on with the fight. A "national convention" of twelve hundred delegates, convoked by the Land League at Dublin, passed the declaration that "the cause of political and social evils is the system of foreign domination," and that the only remedy is to give Ireland the right to govern herself (September, 1881). Gladstone denounced "the new gospel of pillage" and "Mr. Parnell's tyranny," and declared himself firm in maintaining English rule and rights of property. Then he had Parnell arrested. Parnell replied with this watchword, "No more rents; do not pay your rent until the government gives up the system of terrorism and restores to the people their constitutional rights. Against the passive resistance of a whole nation military force is disarmed." The government declared the League dissolved (October, 1881). The League transported its headquarters to England and a league of women, led by Parnell's sister, kept up the fight at home.

After several months of agitation, arrests, and prosecutions the ministry made up their minds to a reconciliation, and made arrangements with the Irish leaders imprisoned at Kilmainham. This was known as the "Kilmainham treaty." The ministry released the prisoners and promised them a law remitting arrears of rent to the tenants.

But a small revolutionary body, the Invincibles, were holding by the Fenian traditions, and wished an armed revolt and a complete separation from England. These men upbraided the Home Rulers for demanding only a Home Rule Parliament, and rejected their policy of legal resistance. In order to make a reconciliation impossible, they assassinated in broad daylight, in a Dublin park, the secretary and under-secretary for Ireland (May 6, 1882). The ministry replied with a bill which instituted trial by magistrates without juries, and placed Ireland under coercion for three years.

The violent revolutionists, allied with societies in America,

tried, like the Russian revolutionists, the effect of dynamite explosions to compel the English to grant Irish home rule. They worked in England at the very doors of the government; there was an explosion in the local government office in 1883, in the vestibule of the House of Commons in January, 1885, and in 1883 a band was discovered which was making dynamite at Birmingham and at Liverpool with which to blow up public buildings. This scheme was avowed in the United States at a public meeting by an Irish revolutionist named O'Donovan Rossa; the only way to get any concession from England, he said, was by terrorizing her.

In Ireland a national subscription was taken up in honour of Parnell, and at the banquet where the money was handed to him the toast to the Queen was replaced by a toast to "Ireland as a nation."

Electoral Reform (1884-85).—The Liberals had long been calling for electoral reform. They were trying especially to do away with the inequality between boroughs and counties. The conference of Liberal representatives which met in October, 1883, determined to get the measure passed. The Gladstone ministry presented it in two parts and carried it in the House of Commons without resistance (1884); all parties were agreed that such a reform was necessary. Even the Lords only delayed it a little (1885).

The reform of 1884 was not a purely empirical measure, like the two which preceded it. It rested on a rational principle conforming to Radical ideas; this was expressed even in its title, the Representation of the People Act. For the first time the reformers were not content with a redistribution of seats; they created new seats, increasing the number of representatives to 670.

They made a systematic attempt to lessen inequalities by making the provisions uniform.

First. The franchise, or right of voting, hitherto differing in the counties and boroughs, was brought under the same rules. The borough franchise was extended to the counties, thus nearly trebling the number of county voters by the admission of the agricultural labourers. There was now a uniform system of suffrage for the whole country.

Second. The smaller boroughs had had hitherto an excessive share of the representation. It was estimated that on an average the boroughs had one member for 41,000 inhabitants, the counties one member for 78,000; the boroughs therefore had, for the same

population, almost double the representation of the counties. The act took away separate representation from 105 boroughs with a population under 16,000 and left only one member each to 37 boroughs under 50,000. It redistributed the seats thus gained to the counties and to cities of over 165,000 inhabitants, in the rough proportion of 1 member to 50,000. The cities and counties were divided into districts so as to have everywhere single-member districts, except in the case of 34 boroughs having two members each. The experiment of "three-cornered" constituencies, tried in 1867 with a view to giving minority representation in cities having three members, was abandoned. The principle was that of the so-called "limited vote"—each voter being allowed to vote for only two of the three members assigned to his city. It had proved unsatisfactory to the Liberals of the cities.

This was not, however, a sweeping reform. The English electoral system still preserved from its old organization of established custom, several remnants which bring out the lack of a complete plan, and mark its unlikeness to the electoral systems of the continent, which are based on rational principles. Following their traditional practice, the English, in creating new ways of getting the right to vote, have taken care to preserve the old ways. There is, therefore, now a medley of ways by which the right of voting may be acquired. But they may be reduced to two general classes:

(a) Residence within the district either in a separate house or in a tenement worth £10 a year. In this qualification there is no question of ownership—it is the simple residence in the house or the lodging, as the person in responsible charge, that confers the right of voting.

(b) Ownership of land worth £5 a year within the district by freehold or copyhold, or possession of the like amount under lease; or the mere tenancy-at-will of land worth £12 a year in the district. In these qualifications there is no question of residence; the mere holding of land in the district confers the right, no matter where the holder resides. These qualifications belong to the county franchise; a man can still vote at elections in every county where he holds land in any of the ways named, except in the county where he has a vote by residence. Men who are neither householders nor £10-lodgers, nor holders of land in one of the ways named, have no votes. It was estimated in 1885 that there were 1,800,000 men shut out from the right of voting, sons of families living at home, men living in cheap or temporary lodgings, workmen lodging with their employers.

Further peculiarities of the English electoral system are that:

(c) Registration as a voter is not a matter of course. There are formalities preceding registration; a man must have had at least a year's residence in the place where he registers, and this shuts out many workingmen who have moved from one town or county to another within the election year.

(d) The election is not held on the same day all over the country.

(e) The election is still settled by a plurality vote; there is no second balloting. This system sometimes results in the election of Conservative candidates in districts where there is not a Conservative majority, or else it prevents the Radicals from casting their votes for the candidates of their own choice by compelling them to vote for the Liberal candidate.

(f) Parliament retains its term of seven years as a right. It is in actual practice the custom to dissolve Parliament before the seven years are up; but it is the government that decides, so that the duration of the House of Commons depends upon the will of the ministry, who hold the members under the fear of a dissolution. The voters are suddenly convoked after a very short notice.

(g) Members do not receive pay, and the election expenses, which are still very heavy, are paid by the candidates. As the right of voting is attached to the property or the domicile, and women are not expressly excluded, an attempt was made to secure woman's suffrage on this basis; the courts, however, rejected this interpretation. The House has since approved the principle, but the principle only.

Disruption of the Liberal Party (1885-86).—The Gladstone ministry, hampered by foreign complications (in Egypt and Afghanistan), retired after a defeat on a minor point in the budget in June, 1885. It was left in a minority of 12 votes, owing to the abstention of some 50 Liberal members. The Conservative ministry under Salisbury which succeeded, not having a majority in the Commons, maintained itself only through Gladstone's forbearance. As in 1868, they waited until the new electoral system should be in working order before dissolving the House. The ministers tried to win over the Irish party by declaring that they would not demand the renewal of the exceptional laws for Ireland.

At the elections of November, 1885, the liberals presented a program of democratic reforms. Gladstone demanded a more equal distribution of taxes, an administrative reform which should

give the direction of local affairs to elective bodies, a reform in the House of Lords, a land reform to give a small piece of land to each farm labourer, so as to transform him into a peasant landowner. The election cry was "three acres and a cow." As to Ireland, he declared himself ready to grant all the local rights compatible with the unity of the Empire, but he strongly opposed the re-establishment of a Parliament in Dublin. To this program Chamberlain, the leader of the Radical division of the Liberal party, added the disestablishment of the Anglican Church.

Parnell advised the Irish not to vote for the Liberal candidates. There were rumours of an arrangement between the two parties which had been opposing Gladstone. Parnell was preparing to adopt a policy more effective than obstruction; it was not simply to prevent the English Parliament from attending to English affairs, but to get the English ministry in the power of the Irish party. If the two great parties should have each only a minority, the Irish party, holding the balance in its hand, would become the dispenser of power and could name its own conditions. This plan succeeded. In the Parliament elected in 1885 there were 333 Liberals, 251 Conservatives, and *86 Irish Home Rulers*. On an amendment to the address in answer to the Queen's speech, the Home Rulers voted with the Liberals and defeated the ministry. Gladstone was called on to form a new ministry.

From now on English political discussion was entirely taken up with the question of the best policy to adopt towards Ireland. And on this question the Liberal party broke up. Gladstone joined the Irish, and proposed home rule as a measure of justice and reparation, also as the best practical method of establishing peace in Ireland. The great majority of the Liberal-Radical party followed him. One section, however, broke away, maintaining that the *Union* must be preserved first of all, and opposing home rule as a dismemberment of the Empire. These Liberal "Dissenters" took the name of "Unionists"; they consisted of an aristocratic group, preserving under Hartington the old Whig traditions, and a small Radical group under Chamberlain, the old Radical leader, made up chiefly of members from the region of Birmingham, Chamberlain's home.

The division began when Gladstone communicated to his cabinet his plans in regard to Ireland; Chamberlain withdrew. The breach became definitive when the project was put before the House of Commons. Gladstone proposed to create an Irish Parliament consisting of two elected houses, and a responsible ex-

ecutive council similar to the English Cabinet; but reserving to the English government the control of matters of common concern: customs and excise duties, commercial legislation, army and navy, foreign policy. In the Parliament where these matters were to be settled for Ireland as well as Great Britain, Ireland was to have no voice.

In England public opinion was distinctly hostile to the scheme. In Ireland, the Ulster Protestants, who had long been organized in secret societies (lodges), forming a national English party called the *Orangemen*, made violent protests, and got up a league against home rule. They did not limit themselves to a protest against the ministerial project, but organized militia, announcing their intentions to fight rather than accept the rule of an Irish Parliament. The Ulster women, to the number of 30,000, sent a petition to the Queen imploring her to refuse her consent to the bill. After passionate discussion in the House of Commons and in the newspapers, the bill was defeated by a vote of 341 to 311, in the midst of unparalleled excitement among the members and the public in the galleries (June 7, 1886).

Gladstone dissolved Parliament and appealed to the nation. The election was exclusively on the Irish question; it was a struggle, not between Liberals and Conservatives, but between Home Rulers and Unionists. The Liberal voters, surprised at Gladstone's rapid evolution, had not had time to accustom themselves to the idea of home rule; many refrained from voting. The Conservatives had the advantage of remaining united and presenting themselves as partisans of national unity, with the additional support of the Liberal Unionists. The election of 1886 swamped Gladstone's party; in England they had only 125 seats out of 455 (in London 11 out of 62); in Parliament there were only 191 Gladstonians and 86 Home Rulers, against 317 Conservatives and 75 Liberal-Unionists.

Party lines were shattered. Instead of two great parties alternating in power, there were two heterogeneous coalitions—the Home Rule coalition, made up of Gladstonian Liberals and Irish Nationalists; the Unionist coalition, made up of Conservatives and two Liberal groups, Hartington's Whigs and Chamberlain's Radicals.

The Government of the Unionist Coalition (1886-92).—The Unionist coalition had a majority of 116 votes; it held power for 6 years. The ministry (under Salisbury) was made up entirely of Conservatives, but governed with the support of the Liberal-

Unionists, who caused it to adopt a radical reform, that of administrative decentralization.

The coalition had been formed to keep Ireland dependent on the central government; the ministry was chiefly occupied with the fight against the Irish Nationalist party. In Parliament the position of the Irish had changed. Instead of standing alone in systematic opposition, they joined the great Liberal party, which promised to demand for them Irish home rule. This party was supported mainly in the north of England and in the annexed countries, Scotland and Wales. It began to regard home rule as no longer an exceptional measure necessitated by Ireland's special condition, but as a normal system applicable to all parts of the Kingdom. Some of its members, therefore, began to demand autonomy and even separate Parliaments for Scotland, Wales, and England (or different parts of England). The British Empire would thus be transformed into a federation into which the colonies would necessarily enter. In adopting this program, the Home Rule party lost its exclusively Irish character to become a democratic federalist party. Against the Unionist majority it could accomplish nothing in Parliament, but it worked outside to regain the majority in the next elections.

In Ireland the government declared itself ready to maintain order, that is to say, to support the landlords in their refusal to lower the rents. The Land Court, established to settle the rent of farms, had no power of enforcing its decisions; it simply announced the amount to which it thought the rent should justly be lowered, the proprietor being free to take the advice or not, as he chose. The Land League met the government policy with a new measure, "the plan of campaign" (1886). It urged the peasants, when their landlord refused to accept the rate proposed by the court, to cease paying their rent and to form among the tenants of each landlord a central committee into whose hands should be paid the rent fixed by the commission. This committee was to confer with the landlord and oblige him to accept the payment; thus the tenants of each landlord formed a sort of syndicate against him. The League made this system obligatory, by threatening vengeance on all who should refuse to comply with it. The government declared the Plan of Campaign an illegal coalition and prosecuted its organizers.

The struggle now became an open one, the landlords dismissing tenants, the tenants refusing to leave, and the landlords calling on the police to turn them out. In Ulster there were battles between Nationalists and Orangemen; at Belfast shots were fired

in the streets. A number of Catholic bishops openly supported the Land League. The government tried to dispose of the leaders of the movement by prosecution; but the juries would not or dared not condemn the accused, and the witnesses refused to obey the summons. The government presented a special criminal system for Ireland, giving justices of the peace the power to judge summarily, within the limit of six months' imprisonment with hard labour, in cases of intimidation or boycotting; the government also reserved the right to have prisoners tried outside of Ireland. The Gladstone party tried to put a stop to this project by obstruction. The government then carried a new measure for shortening debate in the House of Commons; the limit of the discussion was fixed in advance at June 17, when all articles still unconsidered were put to vote without debate. This was not simply closure, it was "guillotine," as in the United States. The Gladstonian members protested and left the hall (1887). Chamberlain, leader of the Radical-Unionists, announced the abandonment of all attempts to reconstitute the former Liberal party. The Liberal-Unionists joined themselves definitively with the Conservative party in a National-Unionist party, retaining the ministry and methods of the Conservative party, but adopting fragments of the Radical platform.

To satisfy its Liberal allies, the government carried an Irish Land Act, whose object was to let the peasants become landowners. This did not check the struggle, so the government declared the Land League dangerous (August, 1887), and had the Irish leaders prosecuted, condemned, and treated in prison like ordinary offenders. This gave rise to violent attacks by the Gladstonians and the Irish in the House of Commons and at an indignation meeting in London against Arthur Balfour, the Irish Secretary, who openly favoured the system of compression (1889).

The most important act of the Unionist ministry was the reform of county administration in 1888, carried for the sake of satisfying their Radical allies. The traditional system gave all local power in the counties to the justices of the peace, that is to say, to the local aristocracy. The act of 1888 established county councils elected for a term of 3 years by the rate payers and Parliamentary voters. These bodies are made up, like municipal councils, of councillors, aldermen, and a presiding officer, bearing the title of chairman, however, not of mayor. To these councils are intrusted a majority of the non-judicial functions of the justices of the peace, construction and care

of court houses, jails, infirmaries, bridges, houses of correction, control of cattle plagues, licensing of shows, etc., with the right to levy taxes and to negotiate loans. This was a new administrative body superior to the old unions of parishes. The larger counties are divided for these purposes—each division having a council of its own. Each of the larger cities and boroughs is treated as a county by itself. There are 60 administrative counties and 61 "counties of boroughs," each of the latter being a city with more than 60,000 inhabitants. The greatest of all is the County of London, made up from the boroughs surrounding the city, with nearly five millions of inhabitants. The London County Council has almost the proportions of a Parliament. The same system of councils was extended to Scotland in 1889. It has now, by the act of 1898, been extended to Ireland also, with slight modifications.

To satisfy the Radicals, these county councils are required, on petition of workingmen demanding it, to buy land and sell it again in small lots. The object is to create a class of peasant landholders.

In Ireland there came a division in the Nationalist party. First, the Pope, by an encyclical, condemned the Plan of Campaign (1888), compelling the Irish priests to retire from the land agitation. Then Mr. Parnell was compromised * by revelations in conjunction with a divorce trial (1890). The English Dissenters, supporters of the Gladstonian party, threatened to break off all connection with the Irish party if they retained such a man as their leader. The group of Irish members in Parliament fell into bitter feud among themselves. The great majority, in order to preserve their alliance with the English Liberals, elected a new leader; a minority only stood by their former leader. This meant the formation of two Irish parties—the anti-Parnellite party, to whose ranks the Catholic priests, hostile to Parnell, led the mass of voters; the Parnellite party, independent of the Church and revolutionary in spirit, made up of the more ardent Nationalists. These two factions began a passionate war against each other.

Parnell's death in 1891 did not altogether restore harmony, and the Irish party remained weakened. The ministry finally proposed to Parliament a special bill to establish local administra-

* The letters published by the *Times* in 1888, to prove that Parnell had known and approved the Irish outrages of 1882, were proved to be forgeries in the famous investigation of 1889. Pigot, the man who had forged them, committed suicide.

tion in Ireland (1892), but did not get it passed before the dissolution.

Formation of the Socialist Parties (1884-92).—During the struggle between the Unionists and the Nationalists, a new political party had sprung up, the Socialist party.

For a long time there had been in England but few Socialists except isolated doctrinaires, without political interest. Two private societies attacked the English system of land-holding, which concentrated the control of the land in the hands of a few landlords, and reduced the peasants to the condition of day labourers.

The "League for the Nationalization of the Land," founded in Scotland by Wallace the naturalist (1880), demanded that the estates should be taken from the landlords with proper compensation, and become the collective property of the nation. The "League for the Restitution of the Land," founded by the disciples of Henry George, declared that the land belonged to the nation, which had a right to seize it without compensation. As a practical procedure they proposed a "single tax of 20 shillings in the pound," that is to say, a tax equal to the income from the land. But the two leagues were recruited almost wholly from the middle classes. The "Social Democratic Federation," founded in 1880 by Hyndmann, a disciple of Marx, tried to spread among workingmen the doctrine of the German Socialists, but had difficulty in getting together even a few thousand adherents.

The Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Unions, which officially represented the various labour organizations, remained faithful to the Radical program, and rejected the socialistic propositions issued by the congress of delegates—that for nationalization of the land in 1882, and that for a law limiting the working day to eight hours in 1883. The belief was created in England and in Europe that English workingmen, thanks to the strong organization of their trade unions and their practical spirit, were destined to remain always opposed to the spread of socialism.

The idea of social reform was gradually gaining ground among workingmen. The great business depression since 1885 brought about a crisis through scarcity of work and low wages. The Social Democratic Federation took advantage of these conditions to organize in London great demonstrations by the unemployed; mass meetings were held at Hyde Park (1886, 1887), where there

was resistance to the police. The socialist agitation took two new forms.

A small group of educated and enthusiastic young men had broken away from the Federation in 1883 and founded the Fabian Society. This was a society for study and propaganda, seeking less to attract supporters than to discover and diffuse formulæ for practical solutions. Its policy, as is indicated by its name, borrowed from the classic memory of "Fabius the temporizer," consisted in temporizing. Its aim was gradually to establish socialism, by a series of measures of detail, softening the transition between present conditions and the ideal state. English society was not yet ready to accept socialism; an immediate conversion was therefore out of the question, and each measure must be taken up separately. Instead of constituting a distinct socialist party, all political parties must be permeated with socialistic ideas. The Fabian Society began to distribute its publications about 1888. It published first a general exposition of doctrine in the form of tracts, advice, statistics, practical solutions, and lists of questions to address to parliamentary or local candidates; its ideal was municipal socialism. It gained a noticeable influence over the Radical party, especially in municipal politics; it even accomplished the election of some of its members to the new county council of London.

The two leagues for the nationalization of the land, the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabian Society, have created a complete literature of social reform whose practical character distinguishes it from similar publications on the continent. Their influence is hard to estimate; but they have created a strong propagandist movement, attracted attention to industrial conditions, and provoked inquiry into the conditions of life in London, thus revealing astonishing facts. The official inquiry into the sweating system disclosed exploitation on a large scale among sewing women; the investigation of furnished lodgings showed the crowding and unsanitary conditions of London lodging houses; the private inquiry conducted by Charles Booth into the conditions of the poor, showed that the usual cause of poverty was not as was commonly believed, vice and drunkenness, but sickness or old age.

A significant change has come about in the trade unions. The majority of them were formerly syndicates of the technical trades, those which required skilled labour. The workmen in these trades, better paid and better educated than the

general mass, were more disposed to pay the necessary contribution for keeping up a relief fund. The unskilled labourers and farm hands remained outside of the unions. A new movement, directed by the Socialist workingmen Tom Mann and John Burns, was set on foot after the general strike of the labourers in the London docks in 1889. The public had supported the strikers and made the strike a success. Unskilled workmen began to organize: dock and wharf labourers, navvies, gas-men, sailors, and even farm hands (1889-90). Unlike the old unions, the new unions asked only a small contribution and gave up the plan of working as mutual aid societies. Their object was simply to establish a fighting organization, to influence public opinion, and become a political force.

In the old unions the number of members increased rapidly (in the 10 great trade unions of builders, from 57,000 in 1888 to 94,000 in 1891) and the majority of them adopted a new program. Their ordinary principle, since the failure of the great agitations from 1834 to 1848, had been to accept the system of freedom in labour contracts, and to associate in order to oblige employers to maintain a living wage and satisfactory hours of labour, without having recourse to state interference. This principle, maintained by the better paid workmen (builders, mechanics, metal-workers) and by the miners in the extreme north, became the doctrine of the official leaders of the labour organizations—the general secretaries and members of the Parliamentary committee who formed the "general staff" of the working classes. But the lower ranks of workmen, especially the cotton-spinners and miners, declared association to be insufficient for opposing the employers, and demanded laws fixing a minimum wage and the maximum working day. They secured in 1878 the ten-hour law for women and children. This new doctrine extended little by little to all trades. The change began with a severe struggle between the advocates of the old and the new policy. It ended in a disagreement between the central committee, which had remained faithful to the doctrine of non-interference from the state, and the mass of delegates to the congress, which was beginning to pass socialistic resolutions. The congress finally enforced its policy; the delegates from the various trade unions officially announced themselves in sympathy with Socialist measures; in 1888 with the nationalization of the land; in 1890 with the statutory eight-hour day.

A Socialist Labour party sprang up first in Scotland (1888),

then in England. At the elections of 1892 two Socialists were elected, the first to sit in the English Parliament.

Measures Urged by the Liberal Ministry (1892-95).—The Liberals had been gradually winning back their old supporters; they regained their lost seats at almost all the by-elections. The Conservative ministry, feeling itself in a minority, dissolved the House of Commons before carrying the project of local administration for Ireland. The Liberals came forward with a Radical program, proposing, besides home rule for Ireland, the electoral reform known as "one man, one vote," payment of members, reform of the House of Lords, disestablishment of the Episcopal Church, and the establishment of parish councils. The Liberal-Unionists voted with the Conservatives, who had just taken as their leader in the House Chamberlain, formerly leader of the Radicals; the fusion in the Unionist party was complete.

The elections of July, 1892, gave the Liberals a smaller majority than had been expected: 355 for Gladstone (275 Liberals, 80 Home Rulers) against 315 (270 Conservatives and 45 Liberal-Unionists). The Gladstonians had made their chief gain from the Liberal-Unionists, who lost 32 seats. But their majority was all from Ireland and Scotland; in England the Unionist coalition still held a majority of 71 seats.

This English majority for the Unionists made the new Liberal ministry (under Gladstone) powerless to carry any important contested measure. It gave the House of Lords, with its great majority hostile to liberal reforms, the strength to resist the ministry. In refusing bills passed by the Commons, the Lords presented themselves as champions of English public opinion against the enemies of national unity.

Gladstone presented a new home rule bill, giving Ireland a local Parliament, with an executive ministry responsible to it. This bill, different from that of 1886, proposed to retain Irish members, to the number of 80, in the London Parliament, but without a right to vote on purely English or Scotch questions. The bill was passed by the Commons in 82 days, after violent scenes, by a majority of 40 votes. It was rejected by a vote of 419 against 41 in the House of Lords. Gladstone, wearied of the contest, retired, leaving his place to a young peer, Lord Rosebery. The Liberals had now no longer a popular leader. They had lost many of their supporters by subordinating their policy to the Irish question, in which few Englishmen were deeply interested. To satisfy the mass of the people, they now adopted a purely Radi-

cal program. The ministry brought forward successively several democratic projects: employers' liability; pay for members without private fortunes; an electoral reform to bring elections on the same day all over the United Kingdom; abolition of the right of plural voting (the reform known as "one man, one vote"), and a reduction to three months of the period of residence required for voting; the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales; the reinstatement of tenants evicted in Ireland; tenant right to compensation for improvements in land; eight-hour day for miners (1894); an act for the better protection of children in factories (1895).

The House of Lords either rejected all these plans, or else amended them so that the ministry preferred to withdraw them. A single legislative reform was carried (through a concession made by Gladstone): the creation of elective parish councils, analogous to the communal councils on the Continent. The act of 1894 established in every parish having more than 300 inhabitants a council elected by the rate payers and Parliamentary voters. Neighbouring parishes are allowed to combine and have a single council for the group. The parishes had had from old times the right of managing their own local affairs; but the right was of a semi-ecclesiastical character exercised in the vestry meeting, and only rate payers could take part. The new system admits the ordinary voters to a voice, and the councils are purely lay bodies. In the case of the smaller parishes the act is only permissive, and they have not generally, as yet, chosen to have councils. Some of the most important powers conferred on the parishes by the new law can be exercised only with consent of the county council and the Local Government Board in London.

This last-mentioned fact suggests a profound change which has taken place in the relations between the local authorities and the central government. Formerly the local authorities exercised their functions according to their own judgment. They have now been brought under a somewhat minute supervision. The money at their disposal is largely contributed by the national exchequer. Self-government in the English sense, that is to say, administration by the local aristocracy, gave place to self-government in its proper sense, administration by elected representatives of the people, acting under central control.

The budget, according to English constitutional theory, is under the exclusive control of the House of Commons, at least as regards its details. Financial bills, like other bills, have to pass

the House of Lords, but the House of Lords cannot amend them. The Liberal ministry, using its majority in the House of Commons, carried a progressive inheritance tax (death duties). This was the first time that an English budget had given countenance to such a Radical-Socialist proposal as a progressive tax.

In checking the ministerial project of home rule and democratic reforms, the House of Lords had resumed in English politics the position of a sovereign body, which, since the electoral reform of 1832, it seemed to have resigned. For half a century it had given up struggling against the representative House; although more than 300 new peers had been created under Victoria, their hall was ordinarily almost empty. What now restored them to power was not that they were lords, but that they appeared as champions of a party popular with the English. The contest between the Liberal majority and the Unionist minority assumed the form of a contest between the two Houses.

In 1894 the Liberals, finding their policy blocked by the upper house, began an agitation against the Lords. As a condition of democratic reforms they demanded a constitutional reform, "mending or ending" the Lords. The ultra-Radicals called for abolition of the House of Lords, and government by a single house (the system adopted in several English colonies). The majority of the party would be content with replacing the Lords by an elective assembly, or simply preserving it, but at the same time depriving it of its power to check absolutely every bill passed by the House of Commons. Rosebery declared (1894) that to carry the home rule bill they must first convert England. He then announced the plan of laying before the Commons a resolution looking to a revision of the constitution. A lively agitation against the Lords was begun in the political meetings, but it led to no legislative proposition.

During this struggle socialistic ideas seemed to be gaining ground among workingmen. An independent labour party was organized (January, 1893) to present candidates in opposition to those of the other parties, with a complete doctrinal program. It formulated its purposes thus: an industrial republic based on the socialization of the land and of capital. The trade union congress, meeting at Belfast in September, 1893, voted to raise a fund for paying "labour candidates" and to give them as their program state ownership of the means of production and distribution. The congress of Norwich (1894) passed, by a compromise, a theoretical resolution in favour of the nationalization of the soil and of the instruments of production.

The Unionists Return to Power (1895).—The Liberal ministry, deprived of power by resistance of the House of Lords, and but feebly sustained by public opinion in England, had difficulty in holding its small majority in Parliament. The Liberal party was a heterogeneous coalition of old Liberals, Radicals who were half Socialists, Irish Catholics and Protestants Dissenters, both English and Welsh. To satisfy these different divisions, the ministry had adopted a composite program: for the Irish, home rule and compensation for evicted tenants; for the Radical workingmen, the eight-hour day and pay for members of Parliament; for country voters, land reform; for Welsh Dissenters, the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales;* for the English Dissenters, who desired compulsory temperance, the Local Option bill, which would give to each municipality the right to forbid the sale of intoxicating liquors. Each division insisted that its special reform should be attended to first.

The ministry, finding itself in a minority on a military question, owing to the desertion of the Parnellites and some other members, retired in June, 1895. The first act of the succeeding Conservative ministry (the third Salisbury) was to dissolve Parliament.

At the elections of 1895 the Unionist coalition worked together, while the Liberal coalition broke up. The independent Socialist party presented its own candidates, but could not elect one, polling only 30,000 votes in all.†

The Dissenters led a campaign against alcoholic liquors which alienated liquor dealers from their party. The Unionist coalition secured 411 seats (340 Conservatives, 71 Liberal-Unionists); the Liberal coalition had only 259 seats (177 Liberals or Radicals, 82 Irish). The Liberal-Unionists regained most of the seats they had lost in 1892.

England gave the Tories and Liberal-Unionists 349 seats against 116; and in the other divisions of Great Britain the Liberals had a majority of only 40—6 from Scotland, 34 from Wales. The Conservatives had a majority of their own, without counting in their Liberal-Unionist allies. But the alliance had become

* Wales, where the old Celtic language is more fully preserved than in Ireland, had revived in the nineteenth century a spirit of Welsh nationality, based on language. The great majority of the people are Protestant Dissenters.

† At the trade union congress of 1895, at Cardiff, the Socialists were in a minority.

so close that the ministry remained composed of men of both divisions. The former Radical leader, Chamberlain, now leader of the Liberal-Unionists in the Commons, had become the government's man of action. From his earliest days he has retained the leaning toward improvements in the material condition of the labouring and peasant classes. The Conservative ministry, following out party traditions, is absorbed in foreign policy and seems indisposed toward undertaking great reforms at home. In 1896 it strove to carry a bill designed to give the Anglican clergy control of the schools. The Liberal-Unionist allies, however, refused to accept it, and the project was withdrawn.

Political Evolution of England in the Nineteenth Century.— England is the only state in Europe which has gone through the nineteenth century without a revolution. She has preserved intact her traditional constitution and even the mechanism of her government. Outsiders, forgetting the revolutions of the seventeenth century, conclude from this that political stability is inherent in the English character.

Yet, beneath this firmly established mechanism, the working of political life has undergone such a profound change, from the beginning to the end of the century, that England has finally emerged from her old *régime*. In 1814 the nation was still under an aristocracy which had the legal control of society, local administration, and central government. The nineteenth century has renovated the constitution of society by establishing the principle of equality before the law. Laws and customs have been abolished which formerly sanctioned legal inequality, disabilities of Dissenters, Catholics, and Jews, impressment of sailors, brutal usage of paupers, prohibition of associations among workingmen. Local administration has been taken away from the local aristocracy and given to councils elected by the people. The central government has preserved its forms, but the transformation of the electing bodies has given it a new direction; the House of Commons, formerly an aristocratic legislative body, has become an assembly of representatives of the nation. It has little by little shut out from the government the King and the Lords, until it has become almost a sovereign assembly. It has made the ministry, which should be the King's chosen advisers, its own executive committee. England has thus passed from a constitutional to a parliamentary system, and her parliamentary system is developing toward that of the French Convention, a republic governed by an assembly chosen by popular vote.

This evolution of society and government in a democratic sense was so contradictory to the aristocratic constitution of English society that for a long time it remained unperceived. It began forty years ago, though in 1870 Taine did not notice it. And it really was not produced by an internal evolution of English society; it was imposed from the outside. The change can only be explained by the incongruous composition of the English state.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, which we improperly speak of as England, is not, like France, a real nation; it is a mixture of ancient nations (English, Welsh, Scotch, and Irish), brought under the government of a dominant nation, but distinct in social organization and religion. One may count as still another nation the industrial society born since the end of the eighteenth century in the desert regions of the north and west of England.

The "old England," the England of the south and east, that England which had organized the government and the Church, was aristocratic and Anglican, and is still; docile under the hands of its nobility and clergy, it has remained the mainstay of the Conservatives. But the other nations of the Kingdom were attached neither to the aristocracy nor to the Anglican Church; Scotland was democratic and Presbyterian, Ireland Catholic and hostile to the English landlords, Wales and the new industrial England of the north and west largely made up of Dissenters. These democratic and dissenting societies were naturally opposed to a system which excluded them from political power and treated their religion as inferior. It is they who have recruited the opposition parties against the English nobility and the Anglican Church. It is the Irish, the Scotch, the Welsh, the English of the north and west, who have formed and who still form the mass of the Liberal and Radical parties. It is they who have brought a democratic evolution upon "old England."

But "old England," in possession of the government and the court, has used its position to maintain its old system and its supremacy over its subjects in the three kingdoms; and by resisting innovations up to the limit of patience of its subjects, it has succeeded in greatly checking the evolution toward democracy.* This explains why the transformation in English institu-

*The evolution toward democracy has taken place in all the English colonies; it has been more rapid and more complete there than in England.

tions has been so slow in proportion to the enormous forces set in motion by the opposition.

In no other European country was the influence of the democratic party spread so quickly. It was in England that the political program of the democratic parties of Europe was formulated for the first time in the nineteenth century (by the Radicals in 1819). No other democratic party has stirred the masses in such numbers as the Radicals, the Chartists, the Irish under O'Connell, and the demonstrative workingmen of 1866; England has been the country of gigantic agitations and demonstrations. But these democratic masses, having respect for legality, yielded before the resistance of the aristocratic government which, with force at its command, easily held them in check by arrests, coercive laws, and display of troops. They have, by manifestation, accomplished less in a half-century than a handful of French republicans, by using force, accomplished in a single day. Further, in order to force the Conservative aristocracy to yield, they have been obliged to join themselves with, and place themselves under, the Liberal aristocracy. They have had to content themselves with the partial reforms which their allies consented to propose. In this manner they have established, under the form of compromise, a suffrage almost universal—quasi-obligation of primary education, quasi-equality of creeds in Ireland, quasi-elective local administration, and quasi-democratic industrial legislation.

In all these reforms the Liberal "general staff" has led; the democratic masses of workingmen and Irishmen gave at the start the impelling force to set the movement on foot; and when, later, the crisis of the reform arrived, they insured its passage by overawing the Conservative rulers by means of imposing demonstrations. The old Radicals demanded complete electoral reform, and succeeded in extorting the partial reforms of 1832 and 1867, each followed by a series of reforms both democratic and independent of the Church. The Irish claimed and obtained political equality of creeds.

After having acquired, by the right of voting, a part in political power, the Radicals and the Irish have slowly won places for themselves in the English Liberal party and have finally won it over to their program of home rule and democratic reforms, until it has become difficult to distinguish a Liberal from a Radical or a member of the Irish party. The Conservative party has

so far yielded to the infusion of the Radical-Unionists that it now takes the initiative in democratic measures.

Thus the old system, defended by the privileged English minority, was destroyed by the attack of the non-English majority; but the work was done bit by bit. The new system has been established in the same fashion, without a general plan, preserving the Royal House and the hereditary peers, the privileged Church established by law, the unsalaried elective officers, the restrictions on the right of voting. The remains of ancient institutions have mingled with the foundations of the new in a contradictory whole, where it is impossible to decide what will survive and what will disappear. This is the cause of the confused character of modern English politics.

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FRANCE.

CHAPTER V.

THE MONARCHY OF THE PROPERTY CLASS.

The Bourbon Restoration.—After the decisive defeat of Napoleon and the capitulation of Paris, there was no longer any government for France; the Allies undertook to provide her with one. They wished neither another republic nor another Napoleon. Three solutions were proposed:* 1st, Napoleon's son (the King of Rome), under the regency of his mother, Arch-Duchess Marie Louise, daughter of the Austrian Emperor; 2d, a French general (the Tsar was thinking of Bernadotte); 3d, the old royal family of France, the Bourbons. The King of Rome was dropped from the question, as the choice of him would have given Austria too much influence; the idea of a French general was a personal whim of Alexander's, the other Allies would not hear of it. The Bourbons alone were left, and Alexander alone objected to them. In the interview at Langres with Metternich (January, 1814) he proposed to call upon the electoral assemblies of France to send deputies who should decide the nation's destiny, while the armies of the Allies kept down agitators. Metternich refused to listen to any "experiment with the principle of sovereignty of the people." "It would be," he said, "a new edition of the Convention, a new breaking forth of the Revolution. . . Besides, what question is this assembly to decide? The legitimate King is there."

The Tsar finally agreed to the Bourbons. The difficulty was to reconcile the French nation. The English government had introduced the principle that the Allies should await the restoration of the monarchy by the French nation itself, that they might not appear to have concerned themselves directly with the internal affairs of France; they would treat with the government recognised by the French. Now the Allies had been struck on their march through France with the absence of any mention of

*The discussion began at the camp of Bâsle in January, 1814, between Metternich and Castlereagh, the Tsar being absent.

the name of Bourbon: the new generation fostered by the Revolution and the Empire no longer recognised the family. Metternich wrote in March: "The invasion has shown in the great majority of the French people only an unexampled lack of interest. . . The French people will never take the initiative on the Bourbon question, the principles avowed by the Allies forbid them to take it. The Bourbon princes must take the matter into their own hands." The next step was to incite a demonstration in favour of the Bourbons. It was Talleyrand who organized it. He was in Paris, a member of the regency established by Napoleon during his absence; he sent to the camp of the Allies a royalist, de Vitrolles; the Count of Artois had sent another. The Allies decided (March 20) to promise their support to the Bourbon party if it declared itself publicly: they would allow Monsieur (Charles, Count of Artois) to establish himself in the invaded provinces, and place under the management of his partisans all those districts which declared themselves loyal to him, guaranteeing them impunity in any case. But while supporting the Bourbons, the Allies gave them prudent advice: the English government engaged Louis XVIII. not to show himself in France, Metternich advised Monsieur not to bestow any office on an *émigré*.

When, on the 31st of March, 1814, the Allies entered Paris, they were in harmony with one another. The prefects had posted an announcement that the Tsar would take Paris under his protection; the Austrian general, that "The sovereign powers are seeking a worthy authority for France which should succeed in establishing peace among all nations. To Paris the opportunity has now come to hasten the restoration of peace to the world. Only let her announce her plan, and the army before the walls of the city will sustain the decision." In the morning some royalist gentlemen, upon showing themselves with white cockades, were received with cries of "Long live the Emperor!" The placards restored their courage; they went through the streets with handkerchiefs tied to their canes, crying "Long live the King!" Then, when the sovereign powers made their formal entry (by the gate of Saint Martin), the royalists marched alongside of the Tsar, crying "Long live Alexander! Long live the Bourbons!"

That evening a discussion took place at Talleyrand's house; there were eight present: the Tsar and his two councillors, the King of Prussia, two Austrians (Schwarzenberg and Lichtenstein), and two great Napoleonic dignitaries, Dalberg and Talley-

rand. The Allies again brought up the objection that France did not want the Bourbons. Talleyrand undertook to secure their call to the throne by official authority, and drew up the declaration of the sovereign powers: "They will no longer treat with Napoleon Bonaparte nor any member of his family; they will respect ancient France as she was under her lawful kings; they will recognise and guarantee the constitution which the French nation gives itself. They invite the Senate to appoint a provisional government which shall take the administrative duties upon itself and prepare a constitution."

The Senate appointed a provisional government of five members and drew up a constitution maintaining all the imperial institutions, or, more exactly, all the personal situations acquired under Napoleon. It guaranteed to the Senate and the Legislative Body their continuance as an essential part of the constitution; to the army its appropriation, its grades and distinctions; to state creditors the recognition of their claims; to purchasers of national estates unimpeachable ownership. They promised liberty of creed and liberty of the press, liberty to express political opinion. Thus the Empire was suppressed by the bodies established during the imperial *régime*, or rather by the minorities of those bodies: the Senate by 62 members out of 142, the House by 77 out of 303, declared Napoleon dethroned, "the right of heredity established for his family" abolished, the people and the army absolved from their oath of allegiance. Napoleon, following the advice of his marshals, abdicated at Fontainebleau.

Then the Senate alone decreed: "The French people of their own free will summon to the throne Louis of France, brother of *the late King*," and added that the senators would retain their office (April 6). The Allies could then treat with the French government. First they arranged with the Count of Artois an armistice to recall the French troops scattered about in fortresses outside of France (April 23), then the treaty of peace with Louis XVIII. (May 30). The Allies had been very moderate; they left to France her territory of 1792 with some extensions, renounced all indemnity, refused to allow Prussia's claim for supplies to Napoleon's army, "in order to show their desire to efface all traces of that unfortunate period." They did not even reclaim the works of art seized by Napoleon and placed in French museums.

They waited until Louis XVIII. had published the Charter guaranteeing to France a liberal monarchy, then they, with their armies, left the country.

Political Institutions under the Charter.—The Allies had demanded for France a constitutional system. The Count of Artois had published a declaration which made no mention of guarantees. Metternich himself demanded that the King should bind himself to govern under constitutional forms. Louis XVIII. arrived in France, refused to swear fidelity to the constitution drawn up by the Senate; but at least, by the declaration of Saint Ouen (May 2), he formulated the principles on which he meant to found the liberal constitution he promised to propose to the Senate and Legislative Body: representative government with two bodies, the Senate and the House, controlling taxation; responsible ministers; permanent judges; liberty of creed, press, and person; guarantee of ranks, of the national debt, of the revolutionary land titles, and of the Legion of Honour; civil-service positions to be open to all Frenchmen.

The Constitutional Charter (June, 1814) organized the monarchy. The restoration of royalty was not at all a re-establishment of the old *régime*. France preserved the social organization created by the Revolution and the administrative organization established by Napoleon.

The Revolution had created a society founded on legal equality, without official recognition of classes, without an established church, without legal privileges—a society where no social advantage is hereditary except property, and where property itself is divided between a great number of inhabitants. The Empire had organized a body of professional officials, divided into sharply defined services (army, clergy, magistracy, administration, direct and indirect tax services, bridges and roads, University), all strongly centralized under the supervision of all-powerful ministers established at Paris; recruited without distinctions of birth by a sort of coaptation, practically permanent, and full of a strong fellow-feeling, controlling the whole country with uniform regulations. The nation in 1814 was already provided with its social and administrative organization; it remained—as it still remains—a democratic society whose affairs are managed by a centralized administration. The mechanism of the central government was not, however, yet constructed; France has laboured to establish it; she has spent the nineteenth century in making herself a political constitution.

Louis XVIII. preserved all the institutions of the Empire, magistracy, codes, administration, Church, University, Legion of Honour, banking, even the imperial nobility. He abolished only

conscription and the combined taxes which had made Napoleon unpopular (these were soon replaced by enlistment and indirect taxes). Nothing remained for him to do but to organize the sovereign government. Alexander and the English advised him to adopt a representative system; the Senate demanded it; Benjamin Constant contrasted it with Napoleon's despotism; Louis XVIII. accepted it. As the English constitution was once more the fashion, France copied England, where the constitutional monarchy had been in operation for more than a century, and transplanted all the English political mechanism. The government was divided between three powers: the King; the Chamber of Peers chosen by the King, and hereditary like the English Lords; the Chamber of Deputies elected, like the English Commons, by property owners. As in England, the lower houses had the primary control of the budget; laws must be passed by both houses; the ministers could be impeached by the Deputies and tried by the Peers; members of neither house were to receive pay. As in England, the King had power to choose his ministers, sanction laws, convoke, adjourn, and dissolve the elected house; and the ministers were responsible, that is to say, the houses could call them to account for their political acts. The Chambers must meet every year, every act of the King must be countersigned by a minister, the press should be free; these were the English guarantees against despotism. They introduced even some English customs: the speech from the throne at the opening of the session, the address from the Chamber in reply. As in England, institutions were established with a permanent character; no provision was made for revision.

This system left three political questions to be solved:

First. What should be the relations between the King and the elected Chamber? The question had not yet been settled beyond possibility of doubt even in England (see p. 12). Could the King choose any ministers he wished, according to the old Tory theory? or should he take them from the majority, according to the Whig theory? This was the leading question; in a country administered exclusively by appointed officials and provided with an irresistible standing army, the real power is the executive power, which controls the functionaries and the army. He who controls the ministers is the really supreme authority.

Second. How should the electoral body be composed? The Charter fixed the amount of tax demanded as a qualification for voting (300 francs), but did not regulate the manner of election.

Third. How should the liberty of the press be regulated?

These last two questions were to be settled by laws which, not being incorporated in the constitution, would always be open to change.

Power to choose the ministers, electoral system, press laws, were the three grounds on which the parties were destined to contend and political life was to centre all through the Restoration.

Conditions of Political Life.—In order to understand this history, we must look at the conditions of French life at this period. This requires an effort of attention, as our current terms (electors, chambers, newspapers) expressed entirely different meanings at that time, so much has society changed since 1814.

Economic life in France had been checked by the imperial wars, which had isolated the French people and forced them to do without the products of English industry. An industrial aristocracy had sprung up, made up of masters of ironworks and of thread and cloth factories in the east and in Normandy, who wished both then and now to monopolize the French market. The land aristocracy of great proprietors tried to maintain the high price of wheat. As these two aristocracies together controlled the two Chambers, they kept the frontier closed by a system of customs duties which perpetuated the continental blockade. The sliding scale for grain allowed the importation of wheat only when burdened with a duty which rose as the price fell, in such fashion as to assure the French producers a minimum price. This was an imitation of the English corn laws. The protective tariff on iron and on cloth was prohibitive, firmly reserving the market to French industry. The timid attempts made by the government to open France to foreign commerce will only succeed, up to 1860, in lowering some articles of the tariff.

The workingmen, since the system established by the Constituante, had no longer the right to associate for the purpose of settling the terms of labour; the penal code made strikes and even coalitions punishable by imprisonment. Labourers were therefore obliged to remain isolated without other tie than the remains of the old journeyman societies preserved in several trades, subject, without defence, to the will of the employers, and kept under watch by means of the *livret*.* They were ignorant and dependent, without any share in political life; and yet it was th

* A sort of pass-book carried by labourers showing where and by whom they had been employed.

who furnished enthusiasts and fanatics to recruit the secret societies and stir up riots. In the country the tenant farmers and métayers, who formed a large part of the population, especially in the western and central parts, were dependent on the large landowners. Thus, in spite of legal equality, French society was still divided into classes, a titled and untitled aristocracy of great proprietors and great manufacturers, a middle class of petty property owners and functionaries, a poor and dependent class of day labourers.

The middle class still led a simple, quiet life, the life of the small town—monotonous, without comforts, without amusements, without intellectual activity, a slave to public opinion. Communication was still very difficult. There were nothing but old roads, badly laid out; ill-kept, paved roads broken up by heavy teaming (macadamizing did not begin until Louis Philippe's reign). Railroads were not generally introduced until 1848; travellers were still at the mercy of stage-coaches. Coaches which were thought to be very quick took three days to go between Paris and Lyons. The postal system was still based on the principle of postage paid by the receiver; the price was high; in 1829 there were still only 1300 post offices, and except in the cities there was no carrier to deliver the letters.

The long wars had almost suspended ll intellectual life; the tradition was preserved by some survivors of the eighteenth century (the idealogues), but the new generation had received no regular instruction. An intellectual restoration set in, and people began once more to study and to teach. The Faculties were still organized as special schools (called the Law School, the Medical School); the students were few, but the public, eager for instruction, went to the public courses, read historical works, and exalted to the rank of great *savants* their professors and popularizers (Cousin, Villemain, Guizot, Aug. Thierry, de Barante). Literature, in which, except for Chateaubriand and Béranger, there remained hardly any but strangers (Mme. de Staël, Benj. Constant, the de Maistres), renewed itself by imitating foreign literature. Secondary education, left subject to the monopoly of the University, was shared among the state colleges * and the little Church seminaries, which combined the boarding school and the monastery, with division into classes and uniform studies, the dead languages and mathematics—that is to say, the educational

* The imperial name *lycée* was during the monarchy replaced by the old name of *collège*.

system of the Jesuits. Primary education was much neglected, encouraged neither by the government nor the middle class; in 1821 there were 25,000 communes without schools, and the appropriation was but 50,000 francs; and the Right wished to put a stop to it altogether. It was only after the law passed in 1833 that the French began to organize primary schools. The great majority of the French could not read; intellectual life could hardly be said to exist among the people.

Religion had been disorganized; the clergy, few in number, had lost a great part of their influence, the middle class rarely attended church, there were almost no religious publications. In the Protestant Church religious exercises, suspended by a century of persecution, had recovered themselves only superficially. The religious restoration of the Catholic Church was directed first by the Congregation, a private society founded in 1816; then by the Jesuit houses, and after 1830 by the Catholic Liberal party (Lamennais, Montalembert, Lacordaire), who succeeded in making religion the fashion again. In the Protestant Church a similar restoration, the awakening (*réveil*), was brought about by the action of foreign Protestants. But almost until 1840 religious activity was too feeble to have any influence on political life.

The dominant characteristic of the political life of this period was that it was limited to a very small portion of the nation. All manual labourers, artisans, peasants, small tradesmen, almost all lower officials, all the lower clergy, a great part of the middle class were excluded. The right of voting seemed such a dangerous power that they did not dare to intrust it to more than a small number of the French; universal suffrage recalled the Convention and Napoleon's plebiscites. There was no hesitation about adopting the evidence of property furnished by the taxes as a basis of the right of voting. The Charter fixed a qualification so high that it gave the whole system a plutocratic character. The nation was divided into two classes, the great majority deprived of all political right, the small privileged minority of voters (until 1830, with the qualification at 300 francs, between 88,000 and 110,000; after 1830, with the qualification at 200 francs, between 166,000 and 241,000). These voters, veritable political grandees, met together at the chief town and formed an electoral college (like the French colleges of senatorial electors at present). In this they voted with written ballots.

The political press had the same character of plutocratic privilege. Political journals had to make a heavy deposit with the

government (ordinarily 200,000 francs) as security for their good conduct; also to pay a stamp tax of 10 centimes (2 cents) a copy, a postage duty of 5 centimes. Papers were not sold by the single copy, but to subscribers only and at a high price, each copy being burdened with a tax of 15 centimes. A subscription was a luxury reserved to the middle class, several of whom often united to pay the expense. There were very few newspapers, three or four to each party; and their circulation, till about 1830, did not exceed 15,000. A secret report in 1824 estimated the total number of copies of political papers at 41,000 for the opposition, 15,000 for the government. In 1830 the 23,000 subscriptions to the *Constitutionnel* were considered a great success. These papers contained only political and literary articles, anonymous like those in England. French people regarded it as nothing less than revolutionary when the *Presse*, in 1836, published articles on various subjects, and there was a great scandal when the *Presse*, to cover expenses, inserted paid advertisements. The Restoration papers, expensive, empty, and monotonous, bore no resemblance to the press of to-day. But they had, few as they were, supreme influence over their subscribers; each man, reading only one paper, had only that paper's opinion.

On the other hand the government, with a susceptibility which we cannot realize, supervised the press; every opposition article which could be suspected of offensive intention was referred to the courts. In 1818, under a Liberal ministry, the authors of the "Historical Library" were condemned to six months' imprisonment because "under pretext of gathering material for a history of the time, they selected and introduced into their compilation acts which had a constant tendency, through accompanying notes, observations, and qualifications, to cast disfavour upon the government . . . thereby denoting constant and deliberate ill will." The law of 1819, the most liberal law passed under the Restoration, still recognised as a misdemeanour any remark against the person of the King, and prosecuted for such offence an author who spoke of the Swiss guards as satellites and janissaries.

The Hundred Days and the Second Restoration.—After the return of Louis XVIII. it was thought that France had entered upon political calm. The King had kept the imperial officials and even Napoleon's ministers (Talleyrand, Fouché, Baron Louis). The majority of the peers were former senators of the Empire. There had been no elections; the members of the

Chamber were still those that had assembled in 1814 to discuss the project. Louis XVIII. seemed to have accepted sincerely the society founded by the Revolution, and that society, rejoicing at the end of war, welcomed the Bourbons, "the uncontested family" (Benj. Constant). To mark this reconciliation, Beugnot had made an historic remark concerning the return of the Count of Artois: "Nothing is changed in France, there is simply one more Frenchman." There was no division into political parties; the Chamber was occupied only with finance.

This harmony could not last. The King, his brother, his personal associates, without any important political act, offended or disturbed French society by the use of obsolete forms. The King called himself Louis XVIII. and called his first year on the throne the eighteenth year of his reign, as if to show that he did not recognise the legitimacy of the governments preceding him. He called himself King *by the grace of God*, without mentioning the will of the nation; he called the constitution by an old name revived from the Middle Ages, the "Charte Constitutionnelle," and promulgated it with the formula "we concede and grant," like a charter really granted, to which the nation had no right. He re-established the red musketeers and the body guards. The imperial nobility was treated at court with less respect than was paid to the ancient nobility. The Count of Artois, living in the pavilion of Marsan, surrounded himself with *émigrés*, who spoke of taking possession of their confiscated property again. This circle, nicknamed the *Entresol* Ministry, was suspected of having influence over the government. In the country the Sunday processions and compulsory rest were restored. All these measures, unimportant in themselves, were nevertheless symbolic and gave the middle class the belief that the court wished to re-establish the old *régime*. The change of flag confirmed this impression. The tricolour flag was that of the army, the white flag that of the *émigrés*; Count Artois had entered Paris with an escort wearing the two cockades. But the King had definitely decided in favour of the white. This change humiliated the army like a symbol of defeat. The officers, recalled from countries occupied by French garrisons, were too numerous for the army in time of peace; as there was no employment for them they were dismissed on half-pay. For minister of war the King chose an unpopular general, Dupont, the man that had capitulated at Baylen.

By these measures the government had irritated the army. An imperialist party was organized, principally among army officers.

Napoleon's minister of police, Fouché, made secret arrangements with several generals for the return of the Emperor. Napoleon, informed of this by a messenger, arrived in France. Avoiding the Rhône valley, which the royalists controlled, he passed through the mountains of Dauphiné and came to Lyons. The whole army at once joined him and resumed the tricolour flag; the Bourbons, finding themselves deserted, fled to Belgium. Napoleon, to keep his hold, was willing to conciliate the Liberals and even the Republicans. He asked Benjamin Constant to draw up a liberal constitution; he promulgated it under the title of the "Act Added to the Constitutions of the Empire," and even had it ratified by universal suffrage, inviting every citizen to sign his name in registers provided for this special purpose. One million five hundred thousand votes were polled. The new constitution established the same *régime* as the Charter, but it was never applied. France's fate was to be determined by war. The Allies refused to recognise Napoleon; their armies united once more. The Waterloo campaign settled the downfall of the Empire and the return of the Bourbons. Napoleon abdicated, proclaiming his son, Napoleon II., *Emperor of the French.* The Legislative Chambers, however, formed a provisional government of five members, which refused to recognise Napoleon II., and governed *in the name of the French nation;* then the Allies arrived, bringing back Louis XVIII. and the white cockade.

Results of the Hundred Days.—The episode of the Hundred days was simply a military revolt, a *pronunciamiento* of the army of Napoleon. But in causing renewed interference from the Allies it produced incalculable results:

First. There was, to begin with, the invasion, followed this time by a long occupation. The Allies, now much irritated against the French, did not treat them as in 1814; they demanded a war indemnity of 700,000,000, payable in 5 years, and the support of an army of occupation of 150,000 men for a period of 3 to 5 years.

Second. There was a new and less advantageous division of territory. The treaty of 1815 took away from France, in addition to Savoy, certain strips of her territory of 1790, in all half a million of inhabitants. Again the Tsar and England were obliged to oppose the dismemberment demanded by Prussia, Austria, and the German princes.

Third. There was at last a profound change in national and

political sentiments in France and in Europe. The invasion of 1814, short and skilfully managed, had left no lasting ill feeling; the Allies had made war simply against Napoleon; they had respected France's internal independence and her ancient territory. Napoleon's return angered Europe against France. The Allies, irritated because the French had so readily abandoned their legitimate King, were convinced that Europe, in the interests of peace, must keep supervision over such an incorrigibly revolutionary people; they determined to interfere in France's domestic affairs, informing themselves of the state of the different parties, threatening the French government, and arranging between themselves to prepare armed interference in case of internal revolution (secret treaty of November, 1815). This defiant attitude of the European powers against France became a national feeling, at least among the Germans.

Fourth. On their part the French, directly affected by the prolonged invasion, and mortified by the mutilation of their territory, regarded the conduct of the Allies in 1815 as an insult and an abuse of power; patriotism consisted henceforth in demanding a new war to efface the disgrace of the treaties of 1815. The patriots also resented France's dependent position toward foreign powers, in having to submit to interference in home affairs; this sentiment was expressed in hatred of the coalition improperly termed the Holy Alliance, and it became the custom for the French to represent themselves as hostile to all Europe.

Fifth. There was a new division of parties; France was separated into two factions: those who had sided with Napoleon and the tricolour flag and those who had remained faithful to the Bourbons and the white flag. On each side was a coalition without real political unity. The tricolour party were imperialist Republicans; the Republicans, joined to the old soldiers, ceased to regard Napoleon as a tyrant; this was the beginning of the legendary Napoleon, the patriotic ruler of France, pursued by the hatred of the Allies because he loved France too well, who came back in 1815 to defend the conquests of the Revolution against the men of the old *régime*. The Revolution and the Empire became one. This confusion is shown in the writings of the time—P.-L. Courier, Casimir Delavigne, and especially the Republican Béranger, Napoleon's old enemy, now the poet who sang of imperial glory; there are traces of it in historical works (Thiers, Vaulabelle). The party was made up chiefly of the Emperor's

officers and old admirers, of Liberal middle-class people and patriots, and workingmen in the large cities. It was a military and patriotic party; it appealed to the hatred of foreigners and to national honour; it reproached the Bourbons with having been "brought back in the enemies' baggage," with being foreign *protégés*, with being in league with the "Holy Alliance," "murderers of the people." It was a democratic and a lay party, which appealed to the hatred of the old *régime* and accused the Bourbons of wishing to restore tithes, forced labour (*corvées*), and feudal rights, privileges of the nobility, the Inquisition, and *lettres de cachet*.

Similarly the White Cockade party was not made up solely of advocates of the Charter and of the constitutional monarchy. The violent Royalists were no longer content with the partial restoration of 1814; they wanted social restoration, a counter-revolution, to destroy the work of the Revolution without being agreed on the extent to which they wanted the old *régime* restored. They attacked especially the retention of the confiscated estates, and the Concordat. The Royalists, "more royalist than the King," nicknamed the *Ultras*, were made up of *émigrés* and country gentry chiefly from the western part of the country; they regarded as their leader not the King, but the King's brother, the future Charles X.

From now on France was divided into irreconcilable factions. It was not, as in England, simply a party struggle for the general control of the government and the interpretation of the constitution. There were two revolutionary parties which did not recognise the constitution: the *Ultras*, similar to the English Jacobites in the eighteenth century, hating the charter because it sanctioned the Revolution; the Liberals (the Imperialist-Republican coalition, a party without English parallel), rejecting the monarchy because the monarchy rejected the national flag and submitted to foreign supervision.

The Counter-Revolutionary Crisis (1815-16).—The invasion of 1815 gave the power first to the Counter-Revolutionary party. The Royalists, sustained by the presence of the allied armies, avenged themselves for the defections of the Hundred Days. Their revenge took two forms: political prosecutions and, in the south, massacres. The amnesty granted to "Misled Frenchmen" did not extend to acts committed prior to March 23. The superior officers accused of having aided Napoleon's return were tried by court-martial (Ney before the Court of Peers); many

were condemned and shot. Then the *Provost Courts* were established (December 20, 1815), formed of five judges presided over by a military officer, for the summary judgment of every individual accused of seditious acts or cries. The Legislative Houses passed laws giving the government the right to detain without trial every man accused of conspiracy, and decreed the penalty of penal servitude for seditious writings or speeches. They voted an amnesty from which they excluded all high officials of the Hundred Days and all *regicidës*, that is to say, the deputies to the convention which had decreed the death of Louis XVI.

In the south, the Royalists of some of the cities massacred generals and prisoners, maltreated Hundred Days officials, purchasers of confiscated estates, Liberals, and even women; at Nîmes, where the Protestants had sympathized with the Emperor, violence took the form of religious persecution. This mass of executions, massacres, and disorders, known as the *White Terror*, brought the climax of party hatred.

The Chamber of Deputies, enlarged to 402 members (by a legislative decree), was elected in August, 1815, under the influence of the invasion and of the Terror. The election was conducted under the electoral system of the Empire, by electoral colleges of arrondissments and departments made up of electors chosen for life. The arrondissement colleges proposed candidates from among whom the department colleges made their choice; but the prefects had had the right to add to the list of electors ten names for each arrondissement, twenty for each department, and many Imperialist voters had not dared to take part in the election. The tricolour party was hardly represented. The Chamber of Deputies was composed of a great majority of *Ultras* and a minority of Royalists, supporters of the Charter and the ministry. The King, satisfied at first with this unexpected Royalist unanimity, called it the *Chambre Introuvable*—the unfindable chamber.

This harmony between the King and the Chamber lasted until the question arose, What measures shall be taken against the enemies of royalty? The Chamber passed exceptional laws (seditious writings, provost courts, exceptions to amnesty). They abolished divorce without debate as a "disgrace to the Code." They also proposed to abolish some of the institutions guaranteed by the Charter, the University, the national debt, permanent justices, and even demanded the restitution of the confiscated es-

tates. But these attempts at restoration were checked by the peers, old imperial officials and natural protectors of the *régime* established by the Charter. Then the Chamber entered upon a conflict with the King over the question of their respective powers and over the electoral laws.

Louis XVIII. had dismissed his Imperialist ministers (Fouché, Talleyrand), but had replaced almost all of them with Royalists of the constitutional party in minority in the House, and had given the presidency to the Duke of Richelieu, a personal friend of Alexander I.; he thus assured to France the protection of the Tsar and facilitated negotiations for the payment of the war indemnity and the evacuation of territory. Only three ministers belonged to the *Ultras*, the party having the majority in the House. They were friends of the Count of Artois and they were accused of forming with him a secret council at Marsan pavilion. Their colleagues held aloof from them. The majority of the deputies protested against this ministry, which did not possess their confidence, and demanded a ministry of the majority, after the Parliamentary plan. The King claimed his right to free choice of ministers, and the minority of constitutional Liberals sustained him against the majority. The orator of the party, Royer-Collard, thus clearly defined the theory of royal supremacy: "If the day should come when the government were in the hands of the majority in the Chambers, and when that majority had the power to dismiss the King's ministers, then would come the fall, not only of the Constitution, but of independent royalty; then we should have a republic" (1816).

At this time were formulated the two opposing doctrines which reappeared under Louis Philippe under the name of *constitutional monarchy* and *parliamentary government*. The constitutional doctrine recognised the King's right to choose his ministers as he liked, even contrary to the wish of the Deputies, so long as he did not govern contrary to the constitution; the King was acknowledged head of the executive power, the only real power, and consequently master of the nation; the legislature had over him no other influence than the illusive right to impeach the ministers for violation of the constitution. The Parliamentary doctrine declared the King obliged to choose ministers from the majority; the executive power was to be under the rule of the Parliament, which by a vote of want of confidence could compel the ministry to retire. The sovereignty was, in this view, indirectly transferred to the Chamber of Deputies. In 1816 the Ul-

tras upheld the doctrine of Parliamentary rights against the King, and the Liberals defended the royal prerogatives against the Royalists.

On the election question, the Ultras demanded election in two degrees, by canton and department, and for the cantonal voters the lowering of the qualification to 50 francs of direct tax, which would mean the extension of suffrage to nearly 2,000,000 voters. They demanded also a large House and the complete renovation of the Chamber every five years. The King and the Liberal minority wished to preserve the system of direct election with a small body of voters (less than 100,000), demanding for qualification 300 francs in taxes; they demanded partial renovation and reduction in the number of deputies. The electoral law proposed by the Ultras was passed by the Deputies and rejected by the Peers (March-April, 1816).

The Ultras wished also to diminish the power of the prefects and to give the local administration into the hands of the landowners. The Liberals defended the centralization established by the Empire.

The rôles of the parties seemed reversed; it was the old *régime* party that wished to weaken the King that the Parliament might profit; also to enlarge the electoral body, and increase local autonomy. It was the Liberal party that sustained royal supremacy, the power of the prefects, and a limited suffrage. The parties regarded political mechanism simply as an instrument to secure for themselves the control of the government, and cared less for the form of government than for the direction given to public policy. The Ultras, aiming to establish an aristocratic system, wished to place the power in the hands of the country nobles, who would have had control of the Chamber, thanks to the 50-franc electors. The Liberals sought to preserve the supremacy of the King, the prefects, and the 300-franc electors, because they were known to favour the maintenance of the social *régime* founded by the Revolution.

Louis XVIII., supported by foreign powers, kept his ministry and resisted the Deputies; he began by closing the session (April, 1816) and, without convoking it again, finally dissolved it (September, 1816).

The order for the dissolution re-established for the next Chamber the number of 258 deputies, as in 1814. The King, by a simple ordinance, changed the composition of the House; it was a *coup d'état* like that of 1830. To secure the House of Peers the

King created new peers, naming former generals and officials under the Empire.

During the struggle between the King and the Chamber of Deputies, the tricolour party, reduced to nine deputies, had had no direct influence. The plots for overthrowing the monarchy (Didier at Grenoble, the patriots at Paris) were nothing but isolated attempts, ignored or disowned by the party.

Government of the Constitutional Party (1816-20).—The new Chamber, meeting in November, 1816, was made up almost entirely of Constitutional Royalists, supporters of the ministry; the two extremes, the Liberals and the Ultras, were reduced to two small groups. The policy of the King and his ministers was to maintain their power by reassuring those members of the middle class who were interested in supporting the Charter, especially the purchasers of confiscated estates, whom the "*Chambre Introuvable*" had made uneasy. Louis XVIII. said in his opening speech to the Parliament: "May hatred cease, may the children of the same country be as brothers." In 1818 he said: "The system which I have adopted reposes on the principle that one cannot be King over two peoples; all the efforts of my government are to make of these two peoples, who unfortunately dwell side by side, a united nation."

A regular political life now began. The fundamental question of supremacy of King or Deputies was dropped; the Chamber left the King free to choose his ministers and to direct politics generally, occupying itself with questions of finance. Under the Empire the budget had hardly been anything but a sham; often exceeded by the ministers and made fictitious by carrying over from one year to another. In 1817 the minister of war had exceeded the 36,000,000 granted; verification was put off indefinitely, there being no fixed term for the liquidation of each budget, and this permitted the carrying forward of unspent funds to the account of another year. Instead of a single budget there were several special ones; the cost of collection was deducted from the budget of receipts, which complicated the work of auditing. The Chamber passed financial laws which determined in France the rules for the formation and verification of the budget. The law of 1818 obliged each minister to present each year the account for the work of the past year, comparing the expenditures ordered by him with the appropriations made by the Chamber; the minister of finance must add to this a general summing up of the departmental budgets, the account of the gross receipts, the account of

the public debt, and the Treasury report. The House is thus kept informed of the sums received, spent, and left on hand. The special budgets were gradually suppressed (from 1817 to 1829). The system was completed by the suppression of the transfer of items from one year to another (1822).

The Chamber of Deputies also legislated on two political questions as to which only general principles were set forth in the Charter, the electoral system and the control of the press. They adopted (1817) the partial renewal of the House, one-fifth each year, and election by a single college meeting at the chief town of the department; each elector must be 30 years old and pay 300 francs direct tax, each candidate 40 years old and pay 1000 francs in taxes; this was the system demanded by the industrial upper-middle class, the mainstay of the Liberal party. The law on the press, long expected, was passed (1819) under the influence of a group of admirers of the English Tories, the doctrinaires (Guizot, Broglie, Royer-Collard). This was an imitation of the English system; no more censorship, jury trial for press cases, newspapers subjected to stamp and deposit of security.* They had wanted free political papers, guaranteed by the jury against the abuse of the government power, but only the journals of the middle class; in demanding an enormous deposit for the establishment of a paper (200,000 francs), in imposing on each copy a stamp tax, they made the press a luxury beyond the reach of the greater part of the nation.

This was a period of reorganization. French territory was evacuated by the armies of the Allies. The debt was consolidated and the budget balanced. The provost courts were suppressed. The standing army was organized with the system of drafting by lot, with the right of getting a substitute and 7 years service (this system lasted until 1871). The University retained the monopoly of higher and secondary education. A Catholic party, improperly nick-named the Congregation,† had formed to strengthen the power of the clergy; they demanded the abolition of Napoleon's Concordat. The Pope and Louis XVIII. agreed to conclude a new Concordat; the Houses, however, refused.

* The deposit of money as security for good behaviour was never required in England.—TR.

† The *Congrégation* was a private society founded at Paris in 1816. The members combined to carry on charitable work; they had the same ideal as the Catholic party, but it is by no means certain that they were the leaders of it.

All this time the Liberals were gaining strength; each year they gained seats; they had 25 deputies in 1817, 45 in 1818, 90 in 1819. The foreign powers were alarmed and urged Louis XVIII. to take measures against these enemies of his house; Louis accepted the resignation of Richelieu, who favoured this policy (December, 1818) and kept the ministers who favoured a non-partisan policy (Decazes ministry). Then the constitutional majority which had supported the Richelieu ministry divided into two parts. The Left Centre continued to support the ministry, the Right Centre reproached the ministry with doing nothing against the revolution and proposed to modify the electoral law so as to prevent the election of Liberals; finally it joined the Ultras against the ministry. Decazes at first resisted; he had 73 peers created in order to keep the majority in the Chamber of Peers, and carried liberal press law. But he had against him the Count of Artois, the court, the Catholic party, and could maintain himself only by the personal support of the King. He decided to satisfy the Right by proposing a new electoral law. But, already weakened by the election of the old Conventionist, Abbé Grégoire, in 1819, he could not resist the anger of the Royalists, who were excited by the assassination of the Duke de Berry (1820). The murderer had acted on his own impulse, but the Liberals were held responsible. Louis XVIII. resigned himself to desert Decazes and took a ministry from the Right (Richelieu), which began the struggle against the Liberals.

Government of the Right (1820-27).—For seven years the Right had the majority in the Chamber and kept the ministry by maintaining harmony with the King, first Louis XVIII., now old and weak, and after 1824, Charles X., the former leader of the Ultras, personally favourable to the politics of the Right. The president of the ministry was first the Duke of Richelieu, but the real leader of the majority and of the government was Villèle, one of the Ultra orators in the "*Chambre Introuvable.*"

The Right, on assuming control, at once cancelled the political work of the preceding years, the electoral and press laws. An ordinance in 1820 re-established provisionally the full censorship. The government's permission was once more necessary for starting a paper, permission of the censors for publishing each issue, and any paper might be suspended for six months by mere executive order. The electoral law of 1820 enlarged the Chamber and restored the electoral colleges. The number of members was increased to 430, elected for five years, and renewed in full at

each election, but by two different systems: first, all the qualified voters meeting in colleges, by arrondissements, as in 1815, elected 258 members (since 1816 the total membership). Then the electors whose tax reached the amount necessary for being elected as members (1000 francs) met in colleges by departments, to elect 172 additional members. These latter, therefore, had a *double vote.*

The new elections under this system (November, 1820) resulted in an enormous majority for the Right, which decisively assured the power to the Ultras. The posthumous birth of an heir to the Duke de Berry (the Count of Chambord) completed the consolidation of the party by assuring the succession of the older branch of the Bourbons.

The tricolour party, reduced to a powerless minority in the House, gave up working by legal methods and once more began to incite revolution. This was the period of military revolutions in Spain and Italy. The French *Charbonneric,* modelled on the Italian Carbonari, was a secret society divided into sections of twenty members called, as in Italy, *ventes,* and directed by a central committee, the High Twenty. The object announced in the founding of this society was to give the French the free exercise of their right to choose their government, "seeing that the Bourbons were restored by foreign power." They talked of overthrowing the Bourbons, but they could not agree on the system to succeed them, for the revolutionists were a coalition of Republicans and Imperialists. They counted on accomplishing their object by an insurrection (the *Charbonniers* were under pledge to have arms always ready), and particularly, as in Spain and Italy, by raising a revolt in the army. They also hoped for aid from the revolutionists of other countries, with whom they kept in touch through the Cosmopolitan Alliance. It seems that the Liberal leaders of the Chamber, Lafayette and Manuel, had knowledge of these revolutionists, if they did not encourage them. The Free Masons reorganized themselves about the same time to oppose the clergy, but it has never been proved that they worked in concert with the secret political societies.

Many attempts were made at insurrection: at Belfort, at Colmar, at Toulon, at Saumur (1822); none of them succeeded; everywhere the conspirators were executed, "the four sergeants of Rochelle," affiliated with the *Charbonniers,* were put to death. There were also demonstrations by the students with cries of "Long live the Charter!" This was the motto chosen by the

Liberals, in order not to frighten the middle class. The demonstration by the students about Paris led to a scrimmage in which several persons were wounded.

The Right continued to control the House. They passed a press law in 1822 which maintained the principle of previous authorization for newspapers, and the government right to suspend the publication, and gave the judgment of press cases to the common courts composed of magistrates dependent on the government. Censorship was abolished, but the ministry could re-establish it by an ordinance. (There was even talk of forbidding the foundation of any new papers and buying up the old ones one by one.) In fact, the press was subject to a system of prosecutions and condemnations which made opposition almost impossible. Even when the government found no cause for prosecution, they could bring a "charge of tendency"—*procès de tendance*—and have the paper condemned for a series of articles, no one of which was punishable, but which taken together indicated a subversive tendency.

The Right was sufficiently strong to oblige the King to make war on Spain in order to re-establish absolutism. Manuel, for having recalled the execution of Louis XVI., was expelled from the Chamber; the Liberal deputies then withdrew (March, 1823). The ministry, taking advantage of the Royalist sentiment among the electors, carried the law fixing the duration of the House at seven years. They then dissolved the Chamber and openly ordered all officials to support government candidates. The keeper of the seals set forth in a circular this principle: "Whoever accepts a post in the public service at the same time pledges himself to consecrate to the government's service his efforts, his talent, his influence."

The Chamber elected under these conditions (February, 1824) was composed so largely of Ultras that it was called the *Chambre Retrouvée* (found again); there were only 19 Liberals. The ideal held by the majority was expressed during the election period. The program of the Liberal papers (*Constutionnel* and *Courrier*) said: "Electors! will you prevent the schemes which propose: 1st, to give the clergy control of marriage, to assure them an independent income, and to give them control of the instruction of our youth; 2d, to re-establish the trade guilds and monopolies; 3d, to deprive the holders of industrial licenses of their political influence; 4th, to introduce into legislation some means of founding a landed aristocracy; 5th, to grant compensation to the

émigrés (for the loss of their estates); 6th, to interpose legal obstacles to the subdivision of property?" The Royalist *Quotidienne* replied: "If the Liberals go to the polls to prevent these things, we counsel the Royalists to go in order to have these things done."

The majority accepted the constitutional system that had placed it in power; but its own wish was to re-establish a landed aristocracy and the authority of the clergy. Louis XVIII. died in 1824 and his successor was the old leader of the Ultras, Charles X. The Chamber, the Ministry, and the King were in harmony as to undertaking a work of restoration. Being unable to restore the confiscated estates, which had been guaranteed to the purchasers by the Charter, they granted the dispossessed *émigrés* a thousand millions of francs as compensation. The sum was raised by an issue of bonds; and the occasion was used to convert the outstanding five per cents into three per cents (1825). In 1826 a law was passed against sacrilege, punishing with death the theft of articles from the churches and the profanation of sacred vessels and the host. The Chamber had even adopted the punishment of parricide for these offences, but the Peers rejected it. The act was a symbolic one, intended to show that the law took note of crimes against religion. The number of dioceses was increased. A bishop was appointed Grand Master of the University. In 1824 teachers were subjected to the supervision of the bishops. Newspapers were prosecuted and officials dismissed.

But this policy aroused against the party in power an opposition of three classes: the Liberals, who were directly attacked; the manufacturers, threatened by the landed aristocracy; the Gallicans, disturbed by seeing the Ultramontanes strengthened (this was the party favouring the power of the Pope). An old Gallican Royalist, Montlosier, in a book that was widely read, denounced the Congregation and demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits. This order had re-established itself in France contrary to law, not having received the sanction of the French government. Montlosier demanded in 1826 that the Articles of the Gallican Church of 1682 be taught in the schools. The Catholic party divided. Some of the bishops signed a declaration against the Jesuits; the Paris Court of Appeal declared the principles of the Jesuits to be incompatible with the Charter. In the Chamber the Gallicans left the Catholics and joined the Voltaireans against the Ultramontanes. The Royalist party also broke up.

The Left Centre, dissatisfied with the policy of the Right, turned against the ministry and joined the Liberals. A group of the extreme Right went into opposition for personal reasons (it was called the *Defection*). The Chamber of Peers, independent of the ministers, assumed the position of defending Liberal institutions against the Chamber of Deputies. It rejected the bill giving a double share of the inheritance to the eldest son in case of families whose direct tax was 3000 francs or upward. It stopped the famous bill relating to the press (nicknamed the "Vandal Bill") which would have compelled every newspaper to deposit with the government the manuscript copy of every issue five days before publication. It voted a bill on juries which admitted as jurors, in addition to property owners, the members of the learned professions.

The ministry tried to crush opposition. It dismissed office-holders who opposed the new press law. It closed the Normal School. It proposed to abolish jury trial. The National Guard of Paris, composed of picked men of the middle class, cried at a review by the King: "Long live the Charter! Down with the ministers!" It was broken up. Finally the ministry re-established the censorship by ordinance in 1827. The opposition replied by founding the Association for defending the Liberty of the Press. In order to get a majority in the Chamber of Peers, Villèle created 76 new peers, most of them taken from among the deputies. But instead of retaining the Chamber of Deputies, which might lawfully have run to 1831, he had it dissolved, counting on managing the elections as in 1824. In order to give the opposition no time for organizing, he had the elections appointed for a day only two weeks ahead.

Conflict between the King and the Chamber (1827-30).—At the elections of November, 1827, all the opponents of the ministry united against it: Liberals, Left Centre, and Defection. The voters were irritated by the aristocratic leanings of the Right. The bondholders disliked it for the conversion of the 5 per cents into 3 per cents carried out in 1825. The new Chamber had a strong opposition majority, 190 of them belonging to the Left. The Villèle ministry resigned. Charles X. was prevailed on to take a ministry, not from the majority, but at least from the Liberal Right Centre, the Martignac ministry of January, 1828. This was a return to Decazes' policy of conciliation.

The Martignac ministry drew up a conciliatory speech from the throne, reopened the courses of Cousin and Guizot, and made

some changes of prefects. It carried, in 1828, a bill against election frauds, requiring that the list of voters be posted in every commune early enough to give time for corrections and additions; also a press act which abolished the censorship, the requirement of previous license, and the offence of *tendance*.

To satisfy the Gallicans the government by ordinance forbade unauthorized religious orders to have the management of educational institutions. In order to maintain the monopoly of the University, it forbade the small seminaries to receive day pupils, and limited to 20,000 the whole number of their pupils; they were to receive only candidates for the priesthood. The bishops rejected these measures at first, but the government got from the Pope a censure of their conduct. To satisfy the Liberals the ministry had the King say in the speech from the throne in 1829: "France knows as you do on what bases her welfare rests, and those who seek it elsewhere than in a sincere union of royal authority and the liberties that the Charter has consecrated, will be promptly disavowed by her." It was the Left that, for the first time, was charged with drawing up the address in reply.

But Charles X. had endured this ministry with grudging: he thought himself entitled to choose his ministers without needing the approval of the Chamber. "I should prefer to saw wood," said he, "than to be a King in the position of the English King." The members of the Left itself gave the Martignac ministry but feeble support, alleging that they had no representative in it. They voted with the extreme Right against the bill relating to the councils of the departments and municipalities. Charles X. considered the attempt at conciliation as a failure. He said to Martignac in April, 1829: "I told you so; nothing could satisfy those people." He waited till the budget was voted and the session closed; then he dismissed the Martignac ministry and formed a ministry of Ultras, presided over by one of his personal friends, an emigrant, Count Polignac.

Charles X. exercised the royal prerogatives, as Louis XVIII. had done in 1816, by governing with a ministry frankly opposed to the Chamber. But Louis XVIII. had had the middle class and the cities on his side against the Unfindable Chamber; Charles X. had them against him. People began to speak of legal resistance. The Chamber had one indirect means of forcing the ministry to retire, namely the refusal of supplies. If the ministry should attempt to levy taxes without legal authority, the taxpayers would refuse to pay them. The *Journal des Débats*, an organ of the

Left Centre, said, on the 10th of August, 1829: "The Charter has now an authority against which all the efforts of despotism will fail. The people will pay a thousand millions to the law; they will not pay one to the ordinances of a minister. If illegal taxes were demanded, a Hampden would arise to crush them. . . The article concluded with the words "Unhappy France! Unhappy King!" The writer was prosecuted and condemned, but was acquitted on appeal. The opposition organized associations to resist the collection of taxes, in case the ministers violated the Charter. The first was the League of Breton Resistance; another was the "Help Thyself and Heaven Will Help Thee," in which Constitutional Royalists, such as Guizot and Broglie, united with young Republicans. Lafayette, regarded as the representative of the Revolution, made a political tour in the South. He was triumphantly received by the Liberals and Free Masons.

The adversaries of the Bourbons tried to take advantage of the general irritation to convert the resistance to the ministers into a revolution against the royal family.

There was already in Paris a small Republican party composed chiefly of students and labouring men. It was little known, for it had neither deputy nor journal; but it was in communication with Lafayette and ready to fight. It had erected barricades in 1827, at the time of the elections—the first seen in Paris since the Fronde (on the great days of the Revolution the crowds went forward to attack, and did not need to raise barricades for defence).

Another small but very active party was formed to replace the older line of the Bourbons with the younger Orleanist branch, descended from Philippe, brother of Louis XIV. Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, son of Philippe Egalité, had fought in the Republican army in 1792.* Returning in 1814, he had been coldly treated at court, but had made himself popular with the middle class by sending his sons to the ordinary colleges and by avowing Liberal and Voltairean opinions. The Orleanist party was started secretly at a meeting held, in 1829, at the house of Talleyrand's niece, between two former Imperial ministers, Talleyrand and Baron Louis, and two young writers from the south, Thiers and Mignet, both of them champions of the Revolution. It was decided to publish a journal, which appeared as the *National*,

* The public was not aware, at that time, that, under the empire, he had tried to take service in the foreign armies: the fact was not divulged until after 1840.

edited by Armand Carrel. As was the fashion with the Constitutionalists, Carrel took his illustrations from English history. He wrote an article praising the revolution of 1688: the English nation had delivered itself from an oppressive king by avoiding the republic and simply substituting one branch of the royal family for another. The allusion was clear.

The conflict between the Chamber and the ministry became open at the beginning of the session of 1830. The speech from the throne said: "If culpable manœuvres should raise against my government obstacles which I do not and must not anticipate, my resolution to maintain the public peace would give me the strength to surmount them." The Chamber replied in an address voted by 221 deputies: "The Charter consecrates as a right the intervention of the nation in the deliberations regarding its interests. It has made the continuous agreement of the wishes of your government with the wishes of your people the indispensable condition of orderly progress in public affairs. This agreement does not now exist" (March, 1830). Charles X. at once prorogued the Chamber and then dissolved it. "This is not a question of the ministry," said he, "but a question of the monarchy." The King, in virtue of his royal power, believed he had the right, in case of disagreement with the Chamber, to enforce his own will. The Chamber, as representing the people (it was not yet reproached with only representing the rich), wished to compel him to yield before the will of the nation. It had never, since 1814, been necessary to decide the question—the majority of the Chamber never having resisted the King, except in the case of the Unfindable Chamber, which was not supported by the nation. In 1830 the two irreconcilable theories, sovereignty of the King and sovereignty of the people, were brought squarely into conflict. According to the maxim borrowed from England, the King could not be responsible: the ministers alone could be. But by upholding his ministers, Charles X. had made the fiction of irresponsibility impossible. The conflict was henceforth between the King and the Chamber.

Revolution of 1830.—Charles X. made some changes in his ministry and ordered a new general election. In the new Chamber, instead of 221 opposition members, there were 270. The King, in spite of the warnings of the Tsar and Metternich, decided to crush the opposition by a *coup d'état*. The French army had just taken Algiers, and the government was making an alliance with the Tsar for the purpose of reconquering the Rhine

boundary. The King therefore supposed he could count with certainty on the army. Polignac had had a vision of the Virgin, who admonished him to deliver his country from the domestic enemy. The Archbishop of Paris, in conducting a service of thanksgiving for the victory of Algiers, gave the same counsel.

The ministry, relying on Article 14 of the *Charte*, "The King makes such regulations and ordinances as are necessary for the execution of the laws and the safety of the state," published the four ordinances of July 26. These dissolved the new Chamber before it had been called together, and purported to change the laws regarding elections and the press. They restored the censorship and reduced the Chamber to 258 members, one-fifth to be elected annually. The elections were to be by departments, and none but land taxes were to qualify for voting—a provision which would exclude the manufacturers, nearly all of whom belonged to the opposition. The King and his ministers held that their action was in accordance with the constitution. Polignac wrote in a secret memoir: "The ministers are willing at need to suspend it in order to strengthen it." They had so little thought of resistance that they had only 14,000 soldiers in Paris and the King went on with his shooting at Rambouillet.

In truth the Constitutional party, in spite of its majority in the Chamber, was not organized for a conflict. The ordinances attacked both the Chamber and the newspapers. But the Chamber had not yet met. The Constitutionalist deputies who were about Paris held a meeting on hearing of the ordinances, and resolved on *legal* resistance, but were unable to agree on practical measures. The Liberal editors issued a protest: "The government has violated the law; we are under no obligation to obey it, we shall endeavour to publish our papers without asking the permission of the censors. The government has this day lost the character of legality which gives the right to demand obedience. For our part, we shall resist it; it is for France to judge how far her resistance shall extend." This was an indirect summons to revolt; but the press had no means of action. The revolution of 1830 was the work neither of the deputies nor of the editors.

An armed force was needed to oppose the troops in Paris; it was the party of the tricolour which furnished this. There had been for some years in Paris a revolutionary party made up of young men, students, and labourers. Their leader, Godefroy Cavaignac, son of a member of the Convention of 1792, wished to re-establish the republic of 1793. His associates were lack-

ing in precise ideas, but hatred of the Bourbons and love of the tricolour flag kept them together. They were not very numerous, having from eight to ten thousand combatants at most. The government had considered them unworthy of notice. This weak and obscure organization it was that made the revolution of 1830. They were favoured by a combination of exceptional conditions. 1st, The government was almost as badly armed as the insurgents, having only 14,000 soldiers in Paris (there was no Parisian police force at that date), and with the flintlocks still in use, the soldiers had no advantage in arms over civilians. 2d, The Paris of that time, especially in the eastern portions, was a labyrinth of narrow and crooked lanes. It was possible, using the large and heavy paving stones of the time, to construct in a few minutes a barricade sufficient to stop the march of troops. Further, the officers had had no experience of street fighting. 3d, The soldiers were reluctant to make war on the populace. 4th, The insurgents hoisted the tricolour flag—which the labourers and even the soldiers still regarded as the national colours.

The struggle lasted three days. On July 27 the Republicans fired some shots and began to build barricades. On the 28th the eastern section was honeycombed with barricades; the insurgents took possession of the City Hall and Notre Dame Cathedral, and hoisted over them the *tricolore*. There were no more cries of *Vive la Charte!* The cry now was "Down with the Bourbons!" Marmont, commanding the troops, sent his men forward in two columns, one through the boulevards toward the Bastille, the other along the Seine toward the City Hall. Behind them, after they had passed, the barricades were rebuilt; the soldiers, worn out with their exertions and the heat, fired upon from windows, and pelted with stones, tiles, and pieces of furniture, were unable to pass the barricades of the Rue Saint-Antoine and, abandoning the east of Paris, retreated to the Louvre. On the 29th the insurgents took the offensive in the western section, attacked the troops in their barracks, and the Swiss at the Tuileries. A number of soldiers of the line joined the insurgents. The rest of the army evacuated Paris. After the fight, some of the deputies, meeting with Laffitte, organized an executive committee to "guard the safety of person and property." This committee established itself at the Hôtel de Ville, restored the national guard, and placed military control in the hands of Lafayette. Charles X. had decided, after the third day, to withdraw his ordinances and to make terms with the insurgents. The committee, how-

ever, refused to receive his envoys; France was tired of the Bourbons.

Paris was in the hands of two parties who had united against Charles X., the Republicans and the Liberal-Royalists. The former controlled the east of Paris and the Hôtel de Ville; the latter controlled the west of Paris and the Chamber of Deputies. They adopted the tricolour flag, but did not want a republic. The partisans of the Duke of Orléans took advantage of this state of affairs to establish a combination of royalty as represented by the younger branch, with the tricolour flag and the Charter. They divulged their plan gradually. First they posted a proclamation drawn up by Thiers: "Charles X. cannot return to Paris, he has shed the nation's blood. A republic would expose us to horrible dissensions, it would embroil us with all Europe. The Duke of Orléans is a prince devoted to the cause of the Revolution. . . He was at Jemmapes. . . He is a citizen-King. He has borne the tricolour standard in the midst of battle, he alone can bear it again. He awaits our call. Let us issue this call, and he will accept the Charter, as we have always wished it to be. It is at the hands of the French nation that he will receive his crown." Then Laffitte and Thiers went to where the Duke was waiting outside the city, and brought him to Paris. The Duke took possession of the Royal Palace, and declared himself only Lieutenant General of the Kingdom until the opening of the legislative houses. He added: "A Charter shall be henceforth a reality." A proclamation drawn up by Guizot and signed by 91 deputies announced his resolution: "The Duke of Orléans is devoted to the cause of the nation and the constitution. . . He will respect our rights, for he will receive his own from us" (July 30). The Chamber of Deputies met again and named Louis Philippe Lieutenant General of the Kingdom.

But at the Hôtel de Ville there remained a semi-Republican government. Louis Philippe made his famous ride across the still armed city and presented himself before the Committee; there he had the Chamber's declaration read, kissed Lafayette, and was cheered by the people (July 31). The Republicans made no opposition, knowing that there was no wish for a republic in France. Cavaignac replied to Duvergier's thanks: "You are wrong in thanking us, we have yielded because we are not ready for resistance."

The revolution did not spread beyond Paris and Louis Philippe remained only Lieutenant General. Charles X. tried to preserve

the crown for his family by accepting the revolution; he appointed the Duke of Orléans Lieutenant General, then he and his son abdicated in favour of the rightful heir, his grandson, Henry V., and intrusted the regency to Louis Philippe. But the Chamber, by a vote of 219 to 33 (there being but 252 of the 430 deputies present), declared the throne vacant, and proclaimed Louis Philippe I. King of the French (August 7).

Charles X., with his court and his guard, had retired to Rambouillet, where he could continue the war. The national guards of Paris marched on Rambouillet in disorder; but Charles made no attempt to resist them. He fled to England. In France the news of the revolution had been carried everywhere, together with the tricolour flag; the people received it with joy, happy in the restoration of the national colours. Not a man made any resistance.

The Political System of Louis Philippe.—The revolution had been brought on by a conflict between the King and the people. Its result was to proclaim publicly the sovereignty of the people. Thiers' declaration said: "It is from the French people that he [Louis Philippe] will hold his crown." Guizot said: "He will respect our rights, for it is from us that he will hold his." Louis Philippe accepted this doctrine. He called himself "King of the French by the grace of God and the good will of the nation." Before he took possession of the throne, the Charter was read to him; he signed it and swore to uphold it. It was understood that this was no longer a Charter *granted* by the King as in 1814, but a Charter imposed by the nation and *agreed to* by the King. The Chambers limited themselves to *revising* the Charter, but the report called the revised Charter a "'new establishment," and defined its position thus: "It is the case of a nation, in full possession of its rights, saying to the prince on whom it intends to confer the crown: 'Under the conditions written in the law, will you reign over us?'" In this way the question of the royal power was settled by the judgment of the people, that is to say, of the Chamber. Article 14, which had served as the basis of Charles X.'s *coup d'état*, was modified to read: "The King issues the ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws, but never has power to suspend the laws or prevent their execution."

Guizot's declaration had announced "guarantees for establishing firm and lasting liberty": the re-establishment of the national guard, jury trial for press cases, "legally determined responsi-

ity of ministers, the position of soldiers to be regulated by law, the citizens to share in the formation of municipal and departmental administrations." The revised Charter contained the promise of laws relating to juries, the national guard, and municipal and departmental organization; it also forbade the censorship of the press and guaranteed freedom of education. Finally, in order to indicate the equality of religions the formula "the Catholic religion is the religion of France" was changed to "the Catholic religion is the religion professed by the majority of the French."

The revision slightly changed the mechanism of the Chambers and of the elections. The Deputies had the right to elect their president and to take the initiative in law-making (not yet individually for each member, but collectively); the age for eligibility was lowered from 40 to 30 years.

Two laws completed the revision: one lowered the voting qualification from 300 to 200 francs in taxes; the other made the peerage no longer hereditary, but for life only (1831).

This new *régime*, called the "July Monarchy" because it was the result of the July revolution, was very little different from that of the Restoration. The real change consisted in giving the power to a new set of men. The royal family of the Bourbons, bound by tradition to the old *régime*, favouring the maintenance of the aristocracy and the power of the clergy, gave place to the family of Orleans, half *bourgeois* and Voltairean, and obliged to lean upon the Liberal middle class. The Chamber of Peers had been deprived of half of its former members (175 of the 539 peers refused to take the oath of allegiance to Louis Philippe), robbed of its hereditary privileges, and had lost its influence in the government. Political power was concentrated in the Chamber of Deputies; the majority belonged henceforth to the Liberal middle class, the enemy of the nobility and clergy, who gave political life a tendency directly opposed to that of the Restoration.

A new political force was created by the Revolution and recognised by the Charter. "The Charter, and all the rights which it consecrates, remain intrusted to the patriotism and courage of the national guards." The national guard, reorganized in 1831, was composed of all taxpayers who could afford to purchase a uniform; they elected their own officers up to the rank of captain. The national guard of Paris took the place of the royal guard, which had been suppressed; it was the armed force charged with defending the government. It was, however, a

political organ as well. Louis Philippe personally reviewed the national guards amid cheers, which were the principal manifestation of public opinion. This political character of the national guard was the most original feature of the July *régime*.

Party Struggle in the Government (1830-31).—Louis Philippe, enthroned by a Paris insurrection, dubbed "King of the barricades" by the legitimists, had promptly to show gratitude to the insurgents. A national recompense was voted for the victims of the July Revolution, a monument was erected on the site of the Bastille "in memory of the citizens who died in fighting for the defence of public liberties." The King gave an audience to "those condemned for political offences." The King came out on foot with an umbrella, shook hands with the members of the national guards, and allowed workingmen to offer him glasses of wine. These democratic manifestations supplied material for joking in the salons and the legitimist newspapers; which also ridiculed the "insurrection of beggars," who had come to demand government situations, and said that Lafayette had endorsed 70,000 requests for office.

The government remained divided into the two parties which had conducted the Revolution: the old revolutionary party of the tricolour flag, which had prepared the uprising against the Bourbons and formed the executive committee of the Hôtel de Ville (Lafayette, Laffitte, Dupont); the constitutional party (Guizot, Broglie, Dupin), which had taken charge of the Chamber and induced it to accept the Duke of Orléans.

Louis Philippe, in shaking off the young Republicans, had not dared to break with the leaders of the tricolour party, who alone were making the new order of things popular in Paris. He therefore called to the government men of both sections of his supporters; he gave seven portfolios to the Constitutionalists, to the Liberals four portfolios and in addition the command of the national guards (Lafayette) and the prefecture of the Seine (Odilon Barrot).

There was therefore in the ministry a continual struggle over the general policy to be pursued. The *party of action* (Lafayette, Laffitte) wished to let the so-called "consequences of July" work themselves out. They would sustain the democratic party, and resist the clergy, at home; and would aid abroad the peoples who rebelled against monarchical governments. The *party of resistance* (Guizot, Broglie, Casimir-Perier) declared the revolution at an end; they wished to combat the Republicans at home, giving

power to the middle class; also to maintain peace abroad and reconcile France with the monarchies.

The party of action had most influence at first; they had the advantage of having the support of the national guard and the Parisian insurgents. Their policy was to let the people of Paris show what they wanted. The people wished first of all the death of the four ministers of Charles X. who had signed the ordinances. In order to save them, the "party of resistance" carried in the Chamber an address favouring the abolition of the death penalty for political offences. The people rebelled and attacked the Royal Palace and the fortress of Vincennes, where the ministers of Charles X. were imprisoned. The Resistance section of the ministry resigned, and Louis Philippe, while himself favouring the Resistance, gave the government to the leaders of the progressive party. He hoped thereby to get done with them more quickly. This Laffitte ministry (November 2, 1830-March 13, 1831) protected Charles' ministers and the Court of Peers which tried them, by lining the streets with soldiers. The clergy having sustained Charles' government, the Revolution of 1830 had been a victory for the Liberal Voltaireans over the legitimist clergy. In the country the mission crosses had been thrown down, priests and monks insulted. In Paris the mobs sacked the Church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, where the legitimists had organized a service in memory of the Duke de Berry; they demolished the Archbishop's palace for hate of the Archbishop, who, in 1830, had advised Charles X. to make a military *coup d'état*. The government made no earnest effort to prevent these outbreaks. Louis Philippe did not dare to join publicly in the celebration of the mass, and therefore had a private service in a private chapel. His coronation was conducted without any religious forms.

The party of action had for opponents the middle class, who were frightened at the prospect of war and distressed by the commercial crisis. Business was at a standstill. One hundred and fifty thousand persons, it was said, had left Paris. The unemployed made public demonstrations. The three per cent. bonds had fallen to 52 francs, the five per cents to 82 francs. Laffitte himself had to go into liquidation with his banking house. Louis Philippe did not want an aggressive foreign policy; he forbade his ministers to interfere in Italy or in Poland. Then the party of action retired from office; the party of resistance took the power under Casimir-Perier (March 13, 1831).

The new policy was to consolidate the royal power, to secure the government to the middle class by crushing the democratic party, and to maintain peace with outside powers by abstaining from interference with them. The Chamber of 1830 was dissolved, and deputies were chosen under the new electoral system by the 200-franc voters. The ministry gained a distinct majority. Casimir-Perier indicated his policy in the speech from the throne: "France has wished royalty to be national; she has not wished it to be impotent." He persuaded the King to leave the Palais Royal, his ducal residence, and take possession of the Tuileries, the King's palace. He passed a law forbidding armed assemblages. He forbade all government officials to join the *National Association*, which had been founded to oppose the Bourbon and foreign influence. "France is to be governed," said the *Journal des Débats*.

Struggle against Insurrections (1831-34).—The monarchy of Louis Philippe which had become the government of the middle class, was now attacked from two opposite sides at once. Two parties organized insurrections for the purpose of overturning the government.

The supporters of the elder branch, known to their adversaries as the *Carlists*, but calling themselves the *Legitimists*, made at Paris an attempt to carry off the royal family (the Prouvaires Street Plot, February, 1832). Their great power was, however, in the west, in the old province of Vendée. It was there that the Duchess of Berry, mother of Henry V., after an unsuccessful attack on Marseilles, incited the romantic insurrection which ended in her capture (June-November, 1832). The Legitimists renounced war and fell back on the press as a weapon.

The Republicans who reproached the Orleanists with having "juggled" the revolution of 1830, tried to bring on another Republican revolution by the same process that had been used with such success against Charles X., riot and barricades in Paris. They were as in 1830 a crowd of students and workingmen, organized as armed secret societies. The object was to re-establish the republic of 1793; their ideal was the Convention. Their scheme was to meet in arms, to barricade the tortuous lanes of the Saint-Martin and Saint-Denis quarters, and to watch for a favourable chance to march upon the Hôtel de Ville and the Tuileries and proclaim the republic. We must remember that this plan, which seems to us inconceivable, was proposed under conditions which have since disappeared. There was no political life

outside of Paris, and it was only necessary to gain control of Paris in order to impose a government on France. Paris was at this period confined to the limits of the twelve old arrondissements. The bourgeois population of the western quarters was small and passive; the eastern quarters, where the working classes were massed, especially on the right bank, formed a strong place, easy to defend with barricades and near the centre of political life, the Hôtel de Ville and the Tuileries. The government had really no other defence but the national guard, of which a part could probably be led to desert.

The Republican party was directed by secret societies formed of the most determined members of the party. These men began the insurrection, followed by the malcontents, especially workingmen and small boys who came to help them build barricades and fight. Those who were unarmed went into the house of a bourgeois of the national guard and took his gun. When the government dissolved a secret society, the Republicans formed a new one under another name. There were successively: the society of the "People's Friends," dissolved in 1831, which led the riots against the ministers of Charles X. and Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois; the society for the "Rights of Man," the most powerful of all, which directed the two great insurrections of 1832 and 1834; the society of the "Families" (1837), and the society of the "Seasons" which led the insurrection of 1839.

The Rights of Man Society was organized like an army, divided into sections of 20 members (to evade the law which forbade the association of more than 20 persons), each section having a president and vice president; these sections were grouped in series, each having its president. In Paris all the later societies followed this system. In Lyons emissaries of the Rights of Man Society created a similar organization. They found the workmen of Lyons excited by the insurrection of November, 1831, which had been merely an industrial outbreak without any political object. During the commercial crisis produced by the revolution of 1830 the silk manufacturers had made a reduction in wages; the silk weavers of Lyons, carrying on the industry in their own houses, procured from the municipality and from the prefect permission to hold a meeting of delegates representing both the manufacturers and the workingmen, to fix a minimum wage. The prefect accepted the decision, but the manufacturers refused it and stopped all work. The weavers came down from the Croix Rousse with a black flag bearing the famous inscrip-

tion: *Vivre en travaillant ou mourir en combattant* (Live by labour or die fighting). After the combat the weavers remained masters of the city for ten days. This uprising gave the workmen of Lyons a realization of their own unity and power. The Republicans organized them in the form of a mutual aid society, the *Mutualists*, divided into 122 lodges of 20 members each, with a treasury and a newspaper.

The Republican party, without counting the little outbreaks in Paris in 1830 and 1831* and the Grenoble riot (March, 1832), made two great insurrections.

First. In 1832, during the Legitimist uprising in la Vendée, on the occasion of the funeral of General Lamarque, the Republicans, re-enforced by Polish, Italian, and German refugees, gathered around the platform on which the body rested and proposed to proclaim a republic. An insurrection began which for one night made them masters of the east of Paris. Then they were gradually driven back by the national guard and 25,000 soldiers and surrounded in the Saint-Martin quarter, where the movement was crushed by the battle of Saint-Merry Cloister (June 5-6).

Second. In 1834, rebellion broke out at Lyons when the government, after a strike by the silk-weavers, proscribed the Mutualist Society and arrested its leaders. The fight lasted four days. The movement which the Paris Republicans were preparing was broken up by the arrest of their leaders, 150 members of the Rights of Man Society. It amounted to nothing more than a fight in the Marais, rendered famous by the "massacre of the Rue Transnonain" (April 13-14).

In the same period the Republican party had a political paper, the *Tribune*, which attacked the King and the government of the *bourgeoisie*, and some illustrated papers (the *Charivari* and the *Caricature*) which used the King as their butt. They represented him as juggling with Revolution and Liberty as his balls, or fleeing after having cut the throat of Liberty (this was a parody of Prudhon's picture), or pictured him with a figure shaped like a pear. In this state of society, so unaccustomed to the liberty of the press, these attacks and caricatures seemed an intolerable insult to authority; the pear caricatures were prosecuted as an outrage against the king. The *Tribune* in four years was prosecuted 111 times; 20 times the editors were condemned, involv-

* That of the Place Vendôme was dispersed by turning fire engines on the rioters.

ing 49 years' imprisonment and 157,000 francs in fines. The editor-in-chief was even arraigned before the Chamber of Deputies.

Suppression of the Republican Party (1834-35).—In order to struggle against the Republicans, the Chambers adopted a system of coercive laws, designed to restrain political liberty by hindering the propagation and manifestation of Republican sentiments. They had begun with offences against the King and the Chambers, against seditious placards (1830) and mobs (1831). The Deputies passed a law against seditious cries (February, 1834), a law forbidding firearms being kept in houses, a law against associations. After the troubles in April it was necessary to pass judgment upon the Republicans arrested in Paris, in Lyons, and in several other cities. The government, instead of referring them to a jury, sent them before the Chamber of Peers, constituted as a court of justice to judge attempts against the peace of the State, and combined all the cases in one "monster prosecution"; there were 164 accused (over 2000 arrested); 4000 witnesses were summoned.

The accused refused to recognise the jurisdiction of the Peers, to defend themselves, to reply, or even to appear before the court. The court finally judged them without a hearing. The leaders had escaped from prison.

The Republicans, having lost almost all their leaders, made no more insurrections. One final *coup*, organized by Blanqui and Barbès, with the Seasons Society (900 members), fell through after a scrimmage (1839). But some isolated Republicans attempted to assassinate the King. There were in all six attempts against him between 1835 and 1846, the first and most striking being that of Fieschi (July, 1835). The Chamber met these cases with the Laws of September. To facilitate the condemnation of political offenders, they granted the right of judgment in the absence of the accused when they refused to respond to a summons; they also lowered from eight (two-thirds) to seven (majority), the number of jurors necessary for conviction. The press laws established a penalty of imprisonment and a fine not exceeding 10,000 francs for offences against the King's person, attack on the principles of government, incitement to crimes against the peace of the State. These laws created new press crimes: it was forbidden to publish reports of libel cases or the lists of jurors in libel cases, also to open a subscription for the payment of fines incurred by a paper, or to attack the *principle of private*

property. A censorship was established over drawings, caricatures, and dramatic productions. These laws, passed in spite of the third party, were applied so as to prosecute every newspaper article advocating a republic, every Legitimist article which spoke of legitimacy or usurpation. The Legitimist papers, having more money, survived this *régime*; the Republicans were reduced to papers printed secretly. There existed only the *National*, parliamentary organ of the Left, which had broken with the Revolutionists.

Formation of the Communist-Socialist Party.—During the struggle against the monarchy the Republicans separated. Their common aim was to re-establish the republic and universal suffrage, with the Constitution of 1793. Cavaignac, in the processes of 1831, recalled the memory of his father—"one of those who proclaimed the Republic in the face of all Europe." The society directing the party took the name of Rights of Man, and reproduced as its program the Declaration of Rights of 1793. But as to the form the Revolution should take, opinions differed. Should it be limited to a political revolution, which should merely change the form of government, or should they make a social revolution aiming to improve the condition of the poor? The split began on the declaration of rights. Instead of the version adopted by the Convention, Cavaignac took up the form proposed by Robespierre, which differed from it in one significant formula: "Property is the right that every citizen has to the enjoyment of the portion of wealth assured to him by the law." That is to say, property is not a natural right; it is one created by law and subject to modification by law. Armand Carrel, editor of the *National*, protested against this doctrine. The Republican party was rent in twain. The purely political Republicans adhered to the old program: the republic without change of the social organization. They remained peaceful, agitating chiefly by means of their organ, the *National*, and speeches in the Chamber. The Socialist party, composed chiefly of workingmen under the guidance of a few young men of the middle class, looked on the republic as an agency for bringing about social reform.

It was the Socialists who directed the secret societies, and organized the insurrections; they adopted the red flag which had been simply a tradition of the former republic but which became the symbol of social revolution, in opposition to the tricolour flag of the middle-class republicans. The opposition between the two parties was distinctly set forth in a manifesto as early as 1832:

"We have in view not so much a political change as a *social reformation.* The extension of political rights, electoral reform, universal suffrage may be excellent things, but simply as a means, not as an end. Our object is the equal division of the burdens and benefits of society, the complete establishment of the reign of equality." This is the program which in the language of the government and the property class was termed the "agrarian law" or the "equal division of wealth."

In Paris the party was made up of working people in the eastern quarters (Maubert, Cité, Saint-Martin, Saint-Denis) and the *faubourgs*,—the old *faubourgs* of Saint-Antoine, Saint-Martin, and Saint-Marcel,—not the extensive suburbs of to-day, which have formed new arrondissements (Belleville, la Villette, Montmartre, etc.). These were then only suburban villages without a labouring population. The members of the new party were not factory hands, but rather artisans, carpenters, blacksmiths, hatters, tailors, cooks. They had at first only vague aspirations—no precise doctrine. The great prosecution of 1834 against the April insurgents gave them one. During their imprisonment together for over a year, the accused went through their doctrinal education; they became acquainted with a survivor of the Communists of 1795, Buonarotti, the author of the "History of the Babeuf Conspiracy." His book, published in 1820 and as yet little known, was now read and studied, and it made proselytes. The Babouvist formulas may be found in the secret organ of the party, the *Freeman.* In 1829 this party itself took the name of "Communist." The society of the *Seasons* asked itself this question: "Are we to make a political or a social reform?" and replied: "A social reform." The way to accomplish this is to create "a dictatorial power with authority to direct the revolutionary movement."

At the same time that this Communist revolutionary party of workingmen was being organized, the socialist schools of Saint-Simon and Fourier were extending peaceful influence among the property class in favour of a social reform independent of politics. Their ideas did not gain ground directly among the working classes. However, Louis Blanc, editor of a democratic paper, the *Bon-Sens*, later of the *Revue du Progrès*, adopting a Saint-Simon formula, published the "Organization of Labour" (1839). He proposed as a practical solution to establish at the expense of the government *national workshops*, where the labourers should themselves direct their labour and share the profits. This was not

Babeuf's old communism; it was a new doctrine, at once political and social, which began to be called *socialism*—a term in use as early as 1832. Louis Blanc's theory was at once adopted by the working classes. In 1840, in connection with a strike which was going on at the time, Arago spoke to the Chamber of the wrongs of the manufacturing population, saying that "labour must be organized." A deputation of workingmen came to thank him at the Observatory (May). Then the Republicans arranged a campaign of banquets for July 14, and Goudchaux spoke on the "exploitation of one man by another." A revolutionary program confiscated in 1840 said: "These are our principles. We want partnership of workingmen and abolition of the exploitation of one man by another. We want to establish national workshops where the profits of labour are divided among the labourers, where there shall be neither master nor servant."

A German named Stein wrote in 1842: "The time for purely political movement in France is past; the next revolution can no longer be any but a *social* revolution."

Parliamentary Struggles (1836-40).—During the struggle against the Republican parties the government had remained in the hands of the Orleanist Constitutionalists, who had a strong majority in the Chamber. The ministry changed its leader several times, but it was constantly made up of "*Resistance*" men, such as Broglie and Guizot, or the former Orleanist agent Thiers. They governed from 1832 to 1836, except for the interruption known as the *three days ministry* (November, 1834). Then Thiers and Guizot, already rivals, broke with each other, and the majority was cut into two parts: the *Right Centre* with Guizot, the *Left Centre* with Thiers. Between the two stood Dupin's little group, the *third party*. On either side of these centre groups remained the two extreme parties: on the right the Legitimists, advocating Henry V.; on the left the old Liberal party, which, not daring to declare itself Republican, called itself the *Dynastic Left*.

The two centres were pitted against each other for the control of the ministry. Each adopted a theory on the royal power, and the constitutional question which had agitated the Restoration Chambers was revived. Guizot, formerly a Legitimist, secretary to Louis XVIII. in 1815, upheld the Tory doctrine that it was the King's prerogative to choose his ministers,—having regard indeed to the opinions of the Chamber, but not binding himself strictly by the will of the majority. Thiers, who upheld revolutionary principles, and conspired against the Bourbons, main-

tained the Whig theory that the King should choose his ministers in accordance with the will of the people, as expressed by the majority in the Chamber, and leave his ministers to govern without personal interference—all of which he summed up in the formula: *The King reigns and does not govern.* Louis Philippe, while not openly rejecting this theory,—it was, indeed, too clearly the doctrine, admitted in 1830, of the sovereignty of the nation,—did not wish for the rôle of constitutional King. He tried to direct his ministers and to govern in their name. He insisted in particular upon personally conducting matters of foreign policy, which seemed to him to be the King's own special field. The majority having voted against Guizot, he asked Thiers to form a ministry. But when Thiers wished to engage him in a war with Spain, he compelled him to resign, and took as prime minister his personal friend Molé (September, 1836).

The two rival groups then joined forces against the King's ministry. This was a struggle between the Chamber, wishing to maintain its sovereignty, and the King, trying to establish his personal power. The struggle was slow and confused. Molé had drawn away from the two centres many deputies who were ready to support any ministry. When he was put in a minority, the King ordered him to form a new ministry (April, 1837). The Parliamentarians, Royer-Collard and Barante, lamented the decay of political interest. The King was reproached with having interfered in the arrangement of matters which he should have left to his ministers, and of having interfered for the purpose of getting grants of money for his family. People began to talk of "personal government" and "court policy."

At last, in 1838, all the oppositions, the Dynastic Left, the Left Centre, and part of the Right Centre (the doctrinaires), formed a coalition against the "court ministry." The campaign was organized in the press by a former partisan of the *Resistance,* Duvergier de Hauranne, who made arrangements with the organs of the Left to work together. "Substitution of *parliamentary* government for *personal* government—that shall be our watchword." He set forth his political theories in a book entitled "Principles of Representative Government and Their Application" (1838). He marked out distinctly the difference between parliamentary government and constitutional monarchy; that in parliamentary government "the Parliament is invested with the final authority and possesses what modern political writers call the *last word.*" This had been shown in the conflict of 1830. "The Chamber had

no idea of dethroning Charles X., and Charles X. did not want to suppress the Chamber. But Charles X. believed and said that as King he should have the last word, the Chamber believed and said that the last word belonged to the nation, legally consulted." The author could conceive of no stable *régime* between absolute monarchy and parliamentary government. "From the moment that the elections became anything but a pretence, the deciding voice must necessarily be given to the voting body." Louis Philippe, it is true, did not openly oppose the Chamber, he did not directly violate the constitution; but the ministry, "by its unconditional surrender to the dictates of the crown," ceased to be a parliamentary government in order to become the instrument of the King's personal power.

In the Chamber the coalition attacked the ministry by proposing an impeachment. The discussion lasted 12 days; 128 speeches were made—the great parliamentary tourney of the reign. The coalition polled 208 votes, the ministry 221. Molé, holding his majority too small, dissolved the Chamber. In the new House he was in a minority and so resigned (March 8, 1839). The coalition was, however, only a majority in opposition; there was not a majority for any government. Two months went by without anyone being able to form a ministry. The secret society of the *Saisons* (Blanqui and Barbès) took advantage of this interregnum to incite the last Republican insurrection (May 12). It was then decided to form a ministry under a military leader, Soult.

The Soult ministry was still under the personal direction of the King, who began once more to solicit an endowment (this time in money) for his son, the Duke of Nemours. In the Chamber, the committee on the measure reported favourably, but the opposition joined forces again and had it rejected without discussion, by secret ballot (226 votes against 220). The Soult ministry retired.

This was the time when the Eastern question was agitating the middle classes. The British government broke away from France and joined the other great powers against the French *protégé* Mehemet Ali. The Allies of 1814 thus found themselves once more arrayed against France. The Left took advantage of the situation to revive in the *bourgeoisie* the feeling against Napoleon's old enemy, and reproached the King with having been too friendly toward England. Louis Philippe attempted a Thiers ministry in order to satisfy the national spirit of the *bourgeoisie* (May, 1840). In the Chamber the government no longer had a

majority. Thiers could depend only on the Left Centre, his own group, and on the remains of Molé's party, known as the 221. He had against him the Legitimist Right and the Right Centre, which did not want a warlike policy; also the Left, which demanded the repeal of the September Laws and a reform of the election laws. To reassure the Right he promised to make no reforms. He tried to win over the Left by personal attentions (known as "individual conquests") and by patriotic demonstrations. He had Napoleon's ashes brought back from St. Helena, he recalled the soldiers absent on furlough, he introduced a plan for the fortification of Paris. (Two plans had been proposed, a fortified wall and detached fortresses; the new scheme combined the two.)

This policy of parliamentary equilibrium and national "jingoism," succeeded in producing an incongruous majority (246 against 160), but it could not bear the test of the Eastern question. The city people liked to see the ministry protest against the treaties of 1815 and take an energetic stand before the world; but they did not want war. When Thiers proposed to demand a credit for 500,000 men, Louis Philippe refused and Thiers resigned. The Guizot ministry presented itself as the preserver of peace (its adversaries said it wanted "peace at any price") with a peaceful speech from the throne. The Chamber, by a vote of 247 against 161, voted a peaceful address. "Peace, an honourable and solid peace, which shall insure the European balance of power against every blow—that is our foremost wish." The Right Centre and the Centre, lately reunited, formed a majority against the Left.

It was during this period of parliamentary struggles that the Bonapartist party began to reappear. Since the death of Napoleon II., the son of Napoleon I., in 1832, the inheritor of the Napoleonic claims had been Louis Napoleon, the son of the King of Holland. He attempted to overthrow the government in the same way that Napoleon I. had ousted the Bourbons after his return from the island of Elba, by showing himself in France and calling the army and the people to him, in the name of the glorious memories of the Empire and of national independence. He made two attempts: at Strasburg in 1836, where he tried to win over a regiment of artillery, and again at Boulogne in 1840, where there was not even a scrimmage.

The Guizot Ministry (1840-48).—Louis Philippe had had ten ministries in as many years up to 1840; in the next eight years he

had only one, the Guizot ministry. In appearance this was a parliamentary government. The ministry had always a majority in the Chamber, and the majority increased at each election (in 1842, and in 1846). The King was therefore conforming to the parliamentary rule of having only a ministry which conformed to the will of the majority. He could no longer, as in Molé's time, be reproached with having a personal government, for he left the government to Guizot, his prime minister. In fact, the King had succeeded in a masterly manner in directing the government in the name of Guizot, and in harmony with him, their personal views being the same. In order to maintain their power, Louis Philippe and Guizot adopted a scheme fashioned after Walpole. Wishing to have the appearance of obeying the will of the majority, they tried to secure a majority which should have no other will than the desire to obey the ministers. To this end they appealed, not to their political convictions, but to their private interests. Guizot's system consisted in gaining the election of a ministerial majority through winning over individual electors by personal favours, such as offices, favours in stock transactions, tobacco licenses—what is known as *electoral corruption*. In order to keep his hold on the deputies, Guizot gave them places or interests in great railroad franchises and in other great undertakings which were being started; at a time when there was no such thing as parliamentary salaries, it was hard to prevent the deputies from seeking lucrative offices: about 200 deputies, almost half the Chamber, were office-holders.

The ministry, master of the Chamber, pursued a policy of order and conservatism. At home they sought to avoid reform, thus maintaining the domination of the middle class; abroad, to assure peace and reconcile France with the other European powers. They prosecuted newspapers which criticised their system. The *National* was prosecuted for an *allusion* to the King's share in the system: "We know well who the chief culprit is and where he is; and France knows it too." Guizot lost the case, but he continued to prosecute the papers and finally obtained condemnations.

The opposition in the Chamber was composed of the small group of Legitimists and of the groups of the Left: the Left Centre (Thiers), the Dynastic Left (Odilon Barrot), the Radical Left —a small group of members (Arago). They reproached the ministry with its policy of corruption, its inaction in domestic affairs, and its friendly attitude toward foreign nations, especially Eng-

land. This opposition was expressed in several famous sentences. Lamartine had already said in 1839: "The French nation is bored." He also said in 1842: "A stone post could carry out this policy." A deputy, summing up the work of the ministry, cried: "What have they done in seven years? Nothing, nothing, nothing!" (1847). After the trial of Teste and Cubières, former ministers, condemned for having sold their influence, an interpellation was addressed to the government; the majority declared themselves "satisfied" with the explanations made by the ministry. The deputies who voted for this order of the day were nicknamed the "*Satisfaits*." To these attacks Guizot replied that it was enough for him to conduct the affairs of the nation wisely; that he laboured to satisfy "the general body of sane and calm citizens," rather than "the limited body of fanatics" affected with "a craze for innovation."

The opposition directed attention chiefly to two questions: the English alliance and reform. The Left, which perpetuated the old Liberal party of the Restoration, had remained hostile to England. They tried to excite the national feeling of the middle class against the ministers by reproaching them with having sacrificed the honour of France. They had two opportunities to apply this policy in the Chamber: the convention on the right of search, destined to put a stop to the slave trade (1843), the Pritchard indemnity granted to an English missionary at Tahiti (1844). The bill for the indemnity was so unpopular that the address supporting the ministry passed only by a vote of 213 against 205. The papers published a list of the deputies who had voted for the indemnity, and they were nicknamed the Pritchardists. Foreign policy was from 1842 to 1846 the principal ground of opposition; the Left hoped to line up against the ministry even the deputies who opposed reform, by making them fear the public opinion excited against the English.

In domestic policy * the Left had not ceased since 1830 to demand reform in the Chamber. They brought forward two measures: *parliamentary reform*, designed to prevent parliamentary

* It may be well to mention here a dramatic episode, lacking political importance, the visit of the Legitimist deputies to Henry V., then in London ("the pilgrimage of Belgrave Square"), to which Louis Philippe replied by inserting in his address the famous phrase: "The public conscience is stained with shameful demonstrations." The episode was the occasion of Guizot's celebrated reply to the Legitimists ("the height of my disdain . . ." etc.), 1844.

corruption by forbidding deputies from holding offices; *electoral reform*, to prevent electoral corruption by increasing the number of voters. The Remilly proposition, that the deputies should not be promised salaried offices nor obtain distinctions, was killed by the Thiers ministry (1840). A similar project failed of discussion in 1842. For electoral reform the Left suggested various schemes. The Dynastic Left demanded the lowering of the tax-paying qualification and the addition of various new classes to the voting lists (jurors, officers appointed by the King, graduates of faculties, notaries, officers of the national guard, municipal councillors in the cities). The Radical Left proposed to give the right of voting to all members of the national guard. Arago and Ledru-Rollin demanded universal suffrage. The ministry rejected all reforms. Guizot replied that there were enough voters, and that besides the number was increasing with the wealth of the nation; there were already more than 200,000. "Work and grow rich," he said, "and you will become voters." As for universal suffrage, he would not hear of it: "This world is no place for universal suffrage, that absurd system which would call all living creatures to the exercise of political rights."

The Left Centre for a long time took no interest in reform. At last, however, in 1845, they joined the Dynastic Left (Odilon Barrot) to demand electoral reform;—a limited reform: the lowering of the property qualification to a tax of 100 francs and the addition of various other franchises.

The country was little aroused by these discussions in the Chamber; the result was certain at the start. The ministerial system was firmly established, its majority steadily increased. The nation was divided into two factions. On one side were the King, the ministers, the Deputies, and the voters (called the *pays légal*); these governed without control and refused any changes. On the other side stood all the rest of the nation, including the King's sons, who were disgusted with the government policy and with the ministers. The national guard of Paris had cried "Long live reform!" (1840), and since then the King had ceased to review them.

The Catholic and Democratic Opposition Parties.—Outside the Legislature were growing up two parties as yet almost unknown to the official political world, but very soon to dispute the control of the government.

The Catholic party had been forming ever since 1830, when the government had officially severed its connection with the clergy.

It was no longer the Catholic party of 1814, semi-Gallican and governmental. The Gallicans had become extinct, taking with them the antagonism between the National Church and the Church of Rome, between the secular clergy and the Jesuits. In France as elsewhere the Catholics of the rising generations were ultramontane, devoted to the Pope and favouring the Jesuits. Their political feelings also had changed. The clergy, recruited from among the people, no longer wished to establish an aristocratic society or to recover the Church estates confiscated in the Revolution. Their power over the members of the Church was sufficient to give them the control of society. The Voltairean middle-class people, in proportion as they grew stronger in their social superiority, were returning to the Church, now once more the fashion. They had their daughters educated in the convents and began to send their sons to the Church schools which were getting re-established. The leaders of the Catholic party, in opposition to the government, formed a liberal party; they demanded for the Church, not privileges, but simply liberty.

The Charter of 1830 had promised liberty of education. The Catholics claimed the right to establish Catholic schools and to abolish the monopoly of the University. Montalembert had begun the struggle by himself opening a private school, thus obliging the government to prosecute him as an example. After the great oratorical successes of Lacordaire, the Catholic party, greatly strengthened, founded a Catholic newspaper (the *Univers*), which attacked the philosophy of the University as impious. The party proposed a new law on the liberty of education which was discussed in 1844. The bishops protested against the University censorship over small colleges. The King held aloof from the contest. He declared that he did not favour liberty in education, but he said: "It is never necessary to interfere in Church matters; if you once begin you cannot stop." He also said: "Do not make me disturb my good Queen." (The Queen was a devoted Catholic; she had personally implored the Peers to reject the divorce law passed by the Chamber, and the bill was in consequence defeated.) The Chamber maintained the University monopoly, and some Liberals, fearing a revival of the Catholic party, which they had believed to be dead, manifested their anxiety by a campaign against the Jesuits (1844). Quinet and Michelet attacked them in their classrooms at the *Collège de France*, causing a tumult among the students.

The Republican revolutionary party was reduced to the secret

society of the *Seasons*, formed of professional conspirators, who were no longer active, from lack of arms. They had among their leaders La Hodde, an agent of the police. Two other societies may be named: the *Communists*, connected with the London Communists and the *Icarians*, disciples of Cabet; but these took no part in politics. There remained, however, a democratic group, without regular organization, trying to bring about a social transformation by means of a political revolution. Ledru-Rollin, the only deputy from this party, said in his profession of faith in 1841: "To pass by political paths to social improvement, that is the march characteristic of the Democratic party."

A group of Republicans, discontented with the *National*, which had ceased to be Republican, founded in 1843 the *Reform*, which became the organ of the Democratic party. Their program, drawn up by Louis Blanc, adopted as its principle *equality*, and "*association*, which is the essential form of equality." "The definite object of the association," it said, "is to satisfy the intellectual, moral, and material needs of the world." It demanded universal suffrage and a salary for deputies, free education, compulsory military service (without right of offering a substitute), and the "organization of labour" to "elevate the labourers from the condition of wage-earners to that of industrial partners." The Democratic party adopted from its foundation a partly socialistic program, and the editors of the *Reform* held themselves in touch with the secret societies. But its influence was very limited; the *Reform* never had 2000 subscribers.

The agitation for social reforms continued to be made by special reviews of the socialistic schools, by pamphlets (Cabet, Proudhon, P. Leroux), and even by the novels of George Sand and Eugene Sue. The movement became sufficiently marked to be noticed in a report of the prefect of police (1846). This report spoke of the "danger not of anarchistic parties, but of anarchistic publications which spread ideas of social renovation. . . . The agitators, despairing of obtaining among the masses by purely political preaching the results which they expect, have begun to propagate certain doctrines much more subversive, borrowed from the dreams of Utopians."

Work of the Monarchy of the Property Classes.—From 1814 to 1848 the domestic history of France is little but a record of political contests. The court, the high officials, and the wealthy middle-class people, who alone possessed the power, ignored the needs of the people; and the people, excluded from the right of

voting, had no way to compel a recognition of their needs. During the whole existence of the "citizen monarchy" there were made only three important reforms:

First. The general and municipal councils, reduced under the Empire and during the Restoration to an imaginary, consultative rôle, were reorganized under Louis Philippe (Martignac's attempt in 1828 having come to nothing). The municipal councils were made elective in 1831, the general and district councils in 1833. They were elected by very small electoral bodies formed of the heaviest taxpayers and those possessing certain professional qualifications. The government still appointed the mayors and their assistants. The powers of the general councils of the departments, regulated by the law of 1838, remained, as formerly, very slight.

Second. The severity of the penal code was a little softened. The law of 1832 abolished branding, pillory, mutilation of parricides, and established the system of "extenuating circumstances" which has lessened by half the number of death penalties. The enactments of the commercial code were modified by the bankruptcy law of 1838; but imprisonment for debt existed up to the Revolution of 1848.

Third. The government had begun to interest itself in primary education. Guizot ordered first the investigation of 1832 regarding primary education, which revealed the lamentable condition of the schools. Many had not even room for the classes. The schoolmaster, receiving only the school fees paid by the parents, often carried on another business. He gathered the children into his room and contented himself with keeping them quiet, without teaching them anything. The law of 1833 obliged the communes to support primary schools and to assure to the teacher a lodging and a schoolroom, a fixed salary and a pension. The school fee was preserved, but was simply an additional source of income. The school expenses were covered by a communal tax added to the direct assessment, and by grants from the department and from the national government. The teachers were to be appointed by the municipal council and had to be provided with certificates of competency. The primary education budget finally reached 3,000,000 francs in 1847, the number of pupils increasing from 2,000,000 in 1832 to 3,500,000 in 1848. The principle was established that elementary education is a public service.

Railroads did not begin to be constructed until toward the

end of the monarchy. The Chamber had hesitated long between the Belgian system of government railroads and the English system of private ownership. After an unsuccessful attempt in 1838, they decided upon a compromise, the law of 1843, which gave the monopoly to large companies under government supervision, subject to the provision that the roads should become state property at the end of one hundred years.

The treasury and customs system of the Empire was hardly changed. The government of the Restoration tried to balance the budget and almost succeeded; the total deficit of fifteen years was only 1,200,000,000 francs (the billion granted to the *émigrés*). The average annual expenditure was about 1,000,000,000. The Government of July increased the deficit to 2,500,000,000, with an expenditure of about 1,200,000,000. The normal state of the French budget under the monarchy of the property class was therefore one of deficits, but of small deficits. Thanks to peace the general wealth of the nation greatly increased—more rapidly than the population (30,460,000 in 1821, 34,230,000 in 1841).

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SOURCES.—The chief sources may be classified under six categories:

1. Parliamentary documents.—The reports of meetings of the Chambers and appendices (investigations, reports, budgets, documents, law projects) have been published day by day in the *Moniteur* and, since 1869, the *Journal Officiel* (in Feb.-March, 1871, the *Moniteur de Bordeaux*). They have been partially reproduced in a retrospective collection: "Archives Parlementaires," "a complete collection of the debates," which is to cover the period from 1800 to 1860 (vol. lxxxv., issued in 1893, goes to 1834), and in an annual collection which has come out since 1861 under the title of "Annales" (of the Senate, of the Corps Législatif, of the National Assembly, of the Chamber of Deputies). The report of the Chamber is *in extenso* (stenographic), except for the period 1852–60, for which there was only an analytical report. There has been an analytical table since 1831, divided into seven series; for the period preceding 1830 the chronological and analytical table of the "Archives Parl." (vol. lxii.) fills its place.

2. Legislative documents.—All official acts are published in the "Bulletin

des Lois," and in **Duvergier**, "Recueil des Lois." The constitutions are all in **F.-A. Helie**, "Les Constitutions de la France," 1879.

3. Judicial documents.—The great political prosecutions before the Chambers have furnished material for special publications (see "Catal. de l'Hist. de France"). Reports of the cases are given by two special papers: *Gazette des Tribunaux*, since 1826; the *Droit*, since 1836.

4. Annuals.—The "Annuaire Historique Universel" gives a summary of the events of each year from 1818 to 1860.

5. Newspapers and reviews.—A list of these will be found in the "Catal. de l'Hist. de France," vol. iv. The leading papers for the period 1814–48 are: the *Journal des Débats*, the *Constitutionnel*, Liberal; the *Quotidienne*, the *Drapeau Blanc*, Legitimist; the *Courrier Franç.*, the *Globe*, Left; the *National*, the *Tribune*, Republican; the *Siècle*, and the *Presse*. The reviews are much less important than in England; they are, for this period, the *Revue Britannique*, the *Correspondant*, and the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE REPUBLIC AND THE DEMOCRATIC EMPIRE.

The Revolution of 1848.—The chief characteristic of the monarchy of the property owners was to reserve all political power to the limited class of large tax-payers; they alone formed the "*pays légal*"—*i. e.*, the country, in the eye of the law. All political life was concentrated in the 200-franc electors, the Chamber, the ministry, and the King. The remainder of the nation had no share in it. The Revolution of 1848 consisted in extending political rights to all Frenchmen who had attained their majority. At a single stroke it took the power out of the hands of the property owners, converted France into a democracy, and transformed all the conditions of political life.

It was a sudden revolution, unexpected by all save those who made it. In 1848 Louis Philippe and the Guizot ministry, secure in their majority in the Chamber, were undisputed masters of France. The opposition in the Chamber was composed chiefly of the Dynastic Left, demanding electoral reform, but not desiring either a republic or universal suffrage. The Republicans were reduced to two groups; of these one, represented by the *National*, limited itself to preferring a republic without any idea of overturning the monarchy. The other, having but one deputy, Ledru-Rollin, and an organ but little read, the *Reform*, kept up the tradition of revolutionary riots, and demanded universal suffrage as a means of social reform. But it had no other force than a few small secret societies, which were not skilful in making a political fight. According to La Hodde, the *Saisons* had only 600 members, the Communists and Dissenters 500, and the *Icariens* 400.

The Revolution began by a coalition of all malcontents against the Guizot ministry; there followed a series of revolutions in quick succession, with a result anticipated by no one.

The agitation first showed itself in 1847, in the form of a campaign of banquets demanding *reform*—that is to say, electoral reform. The Dynastic Left, which had organized the campaign, demanded only a partial reform, the lowering of the taxpaying

qualification and the addition of other qualifications. Their main object was to excite prejudice in order to overthrow the Guizot ministry. These banquets were simply demonstrations made by the Liberal and Royalist middle class. Toasts were drunk to the King and to the reform. The Republicans interested themselves in the movement; at the Château-Rouge, in Paris, they drank to "the bettering of the lot of the labouring classes" (July 9), and at several banquets in the country the royal toast was suppressed. The government replied with a phrase in the speech from the throne against agitation "fomented by hostile and blind passions" (December 28). The King declared that he would never yield, and the Chamber passed an expression of the same sentiments (February 12, 1848).

The government forbade the banquet of the 12th arrondissement. This was the cause of the Revolution. The opposition deputies protested against the prohibition and promised to attend the banquet; the banquet committee arranged to have the national guard and the students meet the deputies at the Madeleine and escort them to the banquet hall (February 22). The government forbade the gathering and the procession in the streets (February 21). The deputies, with many protestations, gave up the demonstration, and the Republicans, meeting at the *Reform* office, decided to remain away from the banquet that the government might not have an excuse for crushing them.

The demonstration was, however, carried out as announced, even without the leaders. An enormous crowd of workingmen and students met in the morning at the Place de la Concorde, shouting "Hurrah for reform!" The Marseillaise was heard; all day long there were riots which the police subdued without serious violence; gunshops were plundered; in the evening, at the Tuileries, there was a bonfire of chairs. The leaders of the secret societies, who had joined the mob to watch the results, declared revolution impossible (February 22).

The revolution set in the next day, lasting two days, February 23 and 24. The first day's outbreak was a riot by the reform party against Guizot; the second was a revolt of the Republican parties against the monarchy. On the morning of the 23d the fight began as usual, with the barricading of the industrial quarters of the east (Saint-Martin and Saint-Denis). The workingmen armed themselves as usual, with the muskets belonging to the national guard. The government had the call to arms sounded, and the national guard assembled to march against the

rioters. But the national guards of Paris hated Guizot; many of them ran through the streets shouting "Hurrah for reform! Down with Guizot!" The insurrection spread to the western part of the city. Louis Philippe, who always regarded the national guard as the representative of public opinion, suddenly lost courage. He agreed to dismiss Guizot and recall Molé. The reform party had conquered. The revolution seemed at an end; there were illuminations in the evening. Then the Republicans began their work, wishing to profit by the excitement of the insurgents still under arms, and by the barricades, which were still in position. In the evening of the 23d, a band, leaving the eastern quarters, and re-enforced by a group who were celebrating in front of the *National* office, marched through the boulevard, calling for torches. On the Boulevard of the Capuchins, before the ministry of foreign affairs, where Guizot lived, they attacked the soldiers who were on guard; the soldiers fired on the crowd. This was the famous massacre which incited the Republicans to a decisive move. A cart, loaded with the victims' bodies, passed along the boulevard. The bystanders spread the news around Paris; the people got the impression that the government had deceived the people in order to have them massacred by the soldiers.

During the night of the 23d all the eastern quarters were firmly barricaded. The 24th was the Republicans' day. Even they had, till then, cried nothing but "Long live reform!" On the 24th they cried "Long live the Republic!" The drama of the day was divided into four acts:

First. Louis Philippe, having been unable to form a Molé ministry, had during the night made up his mind to call upon the leaders of the opposition, Thiers of the Left Centre and Odilon Barrot of the Dynastic Left. In the morning the Thiers ministry was formed. To Bugeaud was given the command of the army and the national guard of Paris. Bugeaud sent his troops to attack the insurgents in their quarters; but the soldiers, exhausted and demoralized, halted before the crowd on the boulevard. The government gave up the attack and recalled the troops to defend the Tuileries. They then tried to calm the insurgents by sending Barrot to announce the concessions wrested from the King: orders given to cease hostilities, the Chamber to be dissolved, Lamoricière appointed commander-in-chief of the national guard, and a Thiers-Barrot ministry to be announced. The insurgents, already masters of the eastern quarters, refused to receive the

King's messengers. The editors of the *Reform* posted placards with the words "Louis Philippe massacres us as Charles X. did: let him follow Charles X."

Second. About ten o'clock the insurgents took the offensive; they seized the Palais Royal and attacked the soldiers stationed opposite, at the Château d'Eau. This was the only real battle; it checked the mob which was marching on the Tuileries. During the fight Louis Philippe, on horseback, showed himself in the court of the Carrousel to encourage the national guard. He heard the shouts of "Long live reform!" saw that the guards were disaffected, and returned to the Tuileries discouraged. Then, by the advice of his son, he abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Count of Paris. The royal family left the Tuileries immediately; the Duchess of Orléans, with the young King, took refuge in the Chamber of Deputies.

Third. At half-past four the mob entered the Tuileries without resistance and destroyed the throne. In the Chamber, the deputies, meeting once more, received the Duchess and her son. They proclaimed the Count of Paris King, his mother regent, then adjourned the meeting. The mob, however, invaded the Chamber, crying "Down with royalty!" The Republican members remained in session and resolved in the midst of tumult to appoint a provisional government made up of deputies. The crowd acclaimed a list drawn up by the *National*. While the Republicans in Parliament were thus carrying on the revolution at the Palais-Bourbon in the west of Paris, the Democratic Republicans were at work in the east at the Hôtel de Ville. The heads of the secret societies, joining the editors of the *Reform* at their office, had discussed the *National's* list, and added three names of their own—Flocon, L. Blanc, and a leader in the *Saisons* society, the mechanic Albert. They also made a different assignment of the prefecture of police (Caussidière) and the postmastership (Arago). They had then taken possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where they proclaimed the republic.

Fourth. As in 1830, there were now two governments in Paris; as in 1830, the government proclaimed at the Palais-Bourbon marched through the streets held by the rebels to occupy the Hôtel de Ville. There the new government installed itself and divided the ministerial posts between its members. But it was necessary to do something for the men proposed by the *Reform*. As there were no more portfolios to give them, they were appointed *secretaries* of the provisional government, and the govern-

ment remained at the Hôtel de Ville. The next day they decreed that "The Republic is the government of France," and, on March 5, promised to convoke an assembly elected by universal suffrage to draw up a constitution. As in 1830, the revolution made in Paris was passively accepted by the rest of the nation.

J. Simon thus sums up the revolution: "The agitation, set on foot by certain Liberals, resulted in the republic which they dreaded, and at the last moment universal suffrage, set on foot by certain Republicans, resulted in promoting the cause of socialism, which they abhorred."

Struggles in the Provisional Government.—The provisional government was formed by two coalitions: the parliamentary Republicans of the *National's* list (Arago, Crémieux, Marie, Garnier-Pagès, Lamartine), and the democratic Republicans of the *Reform's* list (Flocon, Marrast, L. Blanc, Albert); Ledru-Rollin was named in both lists. The two parties had united to establish a republic; but their objects were different. The *National* party wished simply a political revolution to establish the democratic republic, retaining the tricolour flag. The *Reform* party demanded a social revolution to better the condition of the working classes without regard to the rest of the nation; this was known as the democratic and social republic, and adopted the red flag.

The contest between these two parties began at once and lasted until the end. The democratic Republicans seemed to have the upper hand, for the best-known members and ministers belonged to them. But the social Republicans held the posts of action, through Caussidière, prefect of police, and Ledru-Rollin, minister of the interior; and above all they held the government at the Hôtel de Ville in subjection to the eastern quarters. It was therefore the Socialists who had the advantage at first and controlled the government.

The workingmen, armed by the Revolution, had retained their weapons; having no leaders, they organized themselves by two processes: 1st, The government decreed that all citizens should join the national guard. The workingmen entered in legions. The number of national guards in Paris rose from 56,000 at the beginning of February to 190,000 at the middle of March. 2d, Political societies being no longer forbidden, workingmen's clubs were formed. The most active of these, the *Rights of Man*, was managed by the leaders of the secret societies, Sobrier and Blanqui, the former president of the *Seasons*. In these clubs old Communists sowed the seed for social revolution. The work-

ingmen, being without precise doctrine, but Socialists by instinct, became an army at the service of the party which talked of improving their lot. The Socialist leaders, by means of clubs, gave a rallying cry to the labourers, gathered them in armed bands, and led them to the Hôtel de Ville to present their demands to the provisional government. There the socialist group compelled their colleagues to yield. This plan was successfully followed three times:

First. On the 25th of February an armed troop entered the hall and demanded the Rights of Labour (a formula adopted by the Socialists). L. Blanc drew up the decree: "The government of the French Republic undertakes to guarantee the existence of the workingman by labour and to provide labour for all citizens." The next day they decreed the immediate establishment of "national workshops." This was the expression which Louis Blanc had made so popular. A mob wished to hoist the red flag at the Hôtel de Ville, as the symbol of the social republic, but Lamartine induced it to keep the tricolour.

Second. On the 28th of February a crowd arrived with flags bearing the words "Organization of Labour" (an old Saint-Simonian formula adopted by Louis Blanc), and demanded the creation of a "Progress ministry." Blanc supported the demand, but his colleagues refused to join him, so he had to content himself with securing the creation of the "government committee on the labouring classes, with the express mission of looking after their interests." Blanc and Albert were appointed members of this committee and went to establish themselves at the Luxembourg. There they called together delegates of workingmen from the different trades to arrange their demands. The delegates demanded the reforms which interested them most closely: the reduction of the hours of labour, and the abolition of payment in kind (truck system). Their demands were immediately converted into decrees. The working day was reduced from 11 to 10 hours in Paris, and from 12 to 11 hours in the country. The preamble announced that "prolonged manual labour not only ruins the labourer's health, but also, by preventing the cultivation of his mind, detracts from the dignity of man." The government, however, could not get its decree applied; employers took no notice of it. The Luxembourg committee proposed several practical measures (social workshops, arbitration between employers and labourers, discount offices for small business), but they possessed neither money nor means of action. They could

only hold conferences to which they invited the economists, and organize a committee of delegates from the labouring classes. This, by keeping Blanc and Albert away from the Hôtel de Ville, weakened the Socialist party in the government.

Third. The government having suppressed the picked companies in the national guard (light infantry and grenadiers, men from the middle classes), the guardsmen of those companies made before the Hôtel de Ville the "demonstration of bearskin caps" (they insisted on preserving their original uniform). The labouring classes believed the government to be threatened by the middle class. They assembled at the Champ de Mars and marched *en masse* to the Hôtel de Ville, where they presented their demands. This time they had a political favour to ask. The provisional government had just summoned the voters all over France to meet in their precincts on the 9th of April and elect the assembly which should succeed to the power. The Socialist party wished to have more time in order to convert the electors to its views. The demonstration of March 17 demanded the postponement of the elections, and the government consented to postpone them until April 23.

But the social Republicans, who had had the advantage of controlling the government at will, were after all only a small minority. All France opposed them and half of Paris. Their opponents, feeling themselves in the majority, once more assumed control. In opposition to the working-class guards they set up guards of their own from the middle class, and the *garde mobile*, formed of young volunteers receiving pay. The 26th of April was the decisive day. The workingmen convoked by the clubs and the Luxembourg delegation marched from the Champ de Mars to the Hôtel de Ville in order to present a petition for the "abolition of the exploitation of one man by another, and for the organization of labour by association." But Ledru-Rollin, until now hovering between the two parties, decided against the Socialists. He sounded the call to arms. The national guard came armed before the Hôtel de Ville and received the workingmen with cries of "Down with the Communists!" The mob retired, having obtained no satisfaction.

The social Republicans at once lost all influence with the government. All that they had effected was represented by promises which could not be fulfilled, and by two institutions which the government made useless: the Luxembourg committee and the national workshops. The committee had never had any real

power, all its practical work consisting in the creation of a permanent committee of delegates at the Luxembourg, which thereby became a centre for the management of workingmen's agitations. The national workshops were organized by the minister of commerce, Marie, Blanc's opponent. The Revolution of '48 had produced a crisis and put a stop to business and manufacture. Hundreds of labourers from all trades found themselves without work. The government undertook to employ them; but instead of organizing them in real workshops where each could work at his own trade, they employed them all indiscriminately at building fortifications with a uniform pay of two francs a day. Their number increased from 6000 in March to 100,000 in May. They were then reduced to two day's work in the week, with half wages, or one franc daily, for the other days. And, having completed the fortifications, there was no more work for them to do. The Champ de Mars, where they were supposed to work, became a hotbed of Socialist agitation. More than 7,000,000 francs were distributed to labouring men under this disguised form of poor relief.

The provisional government did away with several unpopular taxes: the salt tax and the stamp duty on newspapers; also the octroi-dues at the gates of Paris. But having no more money in the treasury and being unable to negotiate a loan, they established an extraordinary tax of 45 centimes (*i. e.*, 45 per cent.) added to the direct taxes. This burden fell not only on the middle class, but on the peasants, and made them hate the Republic.

The Government of the Constituent Assembly.—The Assembly was elected by general ticket, in each department, by universal suffrage, a plurality sufficing to elect. It was composed of 900 representatives, receiving 25 francs a day for their services. It intrusted the government to an executive committee of 5 members, which was to appoint the ministers. This was a democratic assembly, very different from the chamber of the property holders under Louis Philippe. The majority approved the policy of the middle-class wing of the provisional government. They wanted a democratic republic without a social revolution. The Socialist party had few representatives in this assembly. A strong minority, elected under the influence of the clergy and landlords, wished, if not the monarchy, at least a firm policy against revolution—the policy vaguely termed *reaction*. The democratic Republicans then assumed control and kept it, strug-

gling against the two extreme parties, the Socialists and the *reactionists.*

The Socialists, dissatisfied with the Assembly, twice attempted a new revolution to establish a social-reform government. They met with armed resistance and the struggle ended in civil war.

The 15th of May witnessed a sudden outbreak by the clubs, the former "party of action" (Blanqui, Barbès), and the foreign refugees. Under the pretext of presenting a petition in favour of Poland, they invaded the Assembly, declared it dissolved, and proclaimed a provisional government by the Socialist leaders (Barbès, Blanqui, Blanc, Albert, Cabet, Proudhon, Raspail, Ledru-Rollin). The national guard, however, succeeded in dispersing them.

The "Days of June" were a general insurrection brought about by an understanding between the workmen in the national workshops and the delegates of the Luxembourg committee. The Assembly, hostile to the national workshops, had at first decided to send back the workmen to their own departments. Then they decided to close the workshops, inviting the workmen either to enroll in the army or to get ready to go into the country, where they would still be employed on earthworks (June 21). The workmen had protested against this in advance. "It is not our wish to be out of work, but we cannot get profitable employment in our own trades. What will become of the 110,000 workers in the national workshops?" (June 18). A delegation went in search of Marie to present their grievances. He replied that unless they left Paris freely they would be driven out by force. The workmen were armed, and controlled the east of Paris. They barricaded themselves in their quarters. They demanded the dissolution of the Assembly and the re-establishment of the workshops.

The Assembly charged General Cavaignac to reduce the rebellious districts, and invested him with dictatorial power. The struggle that followed was the bloodiest street battle that had ever been seen in France. On one side all the working population of the eastern quarters of old Paris; on the other the national guard of the other quarters of the city, the *garde mobile*, the garrison (20,000 men), and later the national guards of the surrounding country,—the suburban arrondissements of the present day,—and finally those of the neighbouring cities, all eager to exterminate the Socialists. The insurgents fought without leaders, but with desperation. Their centre of resistance was the Faubourg Saint-

Antoine, which held out three days (June 24-26). The prisoners were shot summarily or tried and transported. The government suppressed 32 Socialist newspapers. There now existed no longer an organized Socialist party. Only some of the leaders, national representatives, Proudhon, Considérant, Pierre Leroux, made isolated attempts to expound their views in the Assembly, where they were received with laughter or shouts of indignation.

Cavaignac retained the executive power and governed in harmony with the Assembly and in sympathy with the democratic republic.

The Constituent Assembly now began the work for which it had been elected. It drew up the constitution of 1848. This document expressed the political creed of the conservative democratic party which formed the majority.

First they passed a declaration of principles, according to the tradition of the Revolution. "In the presence of God and in the name of the people . . . France is constituted a Republic. The French Republic is democratic. Its principles are Liberty, Equality, Fraternity; its foundations, the family, rights of property, public order." The declaration not only recognised all individual liberties and abolished slavery, the censorship, and the death penalty for political offences, but also promised social reforms, free primary education, professional education, equality of relations between employer and labourer, provident institutions, etc. The first plan, drawn up on June 20, also proposed to "recognise the right of every citizen to labour and to public assistance." But the plan finally drawn up in August suppressed this, substituting a non-committal phrase: "The Republic . . . must, with fraternal aid, assure the existence of needy citizens either by procuring them work within the limits of their capabilities or by assisting those who are unable to work." This marked the victory of the democratic over the social republic; individual rights were proclaimed and social reforms announced, but they were not formulated as a right.

The government was organized in accordance with two theoretical principles: "All public powers emanate from the people. . . . The separation of powers is the first condition of a free government." This theory meant that there were two powers, both *delegated* by the French nation: the legislative power to a single *assembly* of 750 members elected by universal suffrage; the executive to a citizen elected as *President of the Republic* for four years (probably in imitation of the United States), with the right of

choosing his ministers. They did not want two Chambers, because a second house seemed an aristocratic institution; they restricted themselves to the creation of a *Council of State*, elected by the Assembly to prepare bills for the Assembly.

This was the American mechanism transported from a federal government, without an army and without a functionary class, into a centralized government, provided with an irresistible army and a body of office-holders accustomed to ruling. All the practical force was embodied in the President. The fate of the Republic therefore hung on the question: How should the President be chosen? By the Assembly? That would mean Cavaignac, who controlled the republican party. By the people? Whom that would mean, no one knew. Lamartine knew that the Assembly would not elect him, so he advised popular election: "Let God and the nation speak. Something must be left to Providence." The Assembly, by a vote of 602 against 211, agreed upon this plan. They then began to fear Louis Napoleon, who had just been chosen to represent 5 different departments; someone proposed to disqualify members of former reigning families. The Assembly refused because "a law against one man is unworthy of a great Assembly."

The election of the President by universal suffrage (December 10, 1848) decided the possession of power. The two republican parties, pitted against each other since the February Revolution, had each its own candidate, the Socialists Ledru-Rollin, the Democrats Cavaignac. A Bonapartist party, newly formed, nominated Louis Napoleon, head of the Napoleonic family, who affected to pose as a citizen, not as a pretender. The former royalists flocked to his standard. The peasants had had no political education; they knew but one name, that of the Emperor Napoleon; they voted for that name. Louis Napoleon received 5,400,000 votes (Cavaignac 1,400,000, Ledru-Rollin 370,000) and took possession of the executive power—swearing to "remain faithful to the democratic Republic and to defend the Constitution"; he chose a parliamentary ministry formed chiefly of Liberal Orleanists and Catholics. The Constituent Assembly continued in session though in discord with the President. It refused to pass a law against political meetings and censured the President's order sending the French troops to attack the Roman Republic in defence of the Pope. In the country the new prefects appointed by the ministers made trouble by doing away with the liberty trees and the Phrygian caps.

The Government of the Monarchical Parties (1849-51).—In the Legislative Assembly elected in May, 1849, the position of parties was reversed. Of the more than 750 members, 500 were monarchists, elected through the influence of the clergy and the royalist middle class. Their election had been prepared by the committee of the Rue de Poiters, the league of the three parties, Orleanist (Thiers), Legitimist (Berryer), Catholic (Montalembert). Of the 250 Republicans, only 70 represented the party which had been in majority in the Constituent Assembly. The rest formed the party of the *Mountain* (ultra-revolutionists), called by their adversaries the *Reds*. There was a coalition of all the Republicans, formed to save the Republic by making an appeal to democratic sentiments. It had gathered together the remains of the socialist parties, which had been disorganized by the loss of their imprisoned and banished leaders (Blanqui, Barbès, Blanc). This coalition had been organized for the parliamentary elections, under the direction of election committees, the *Friends of the Constitution*, the *Republican Union* (of which Jean Macé was secretary), and the group of deputies known as the Mountain in the Constituent Assembly. The programs of these committees promised a number of social reforms; that of the Mountain, written by Félix Pyat, recognised "the right of property by the right of labour," and demanded "a progressive and proportional tax on net income, and government control of railroads, mines, and canals, and insurance." The large cities and the eastern and central departments elected members of the Mountain party.

The majority, in harmony with the President and his ministers, laboured to crush the Republican party, by taking away all their means of agitation and action—their newspapers and political societies, lay schools, and universal suffrage.

The struggle began over the expedition to Rome. The Mountain demanded the impeachment of the ministers for having violated the constitution * in making war on the Roman Republic against the Assembly's wish. The majority rejected the measure. The democratic committees issued an appeal to the national guards to gather for a demonstration. This resulted in the Arts-and-Trades' outbreak. The Assembly suspended the party's newspapers and ordered the arrest of 33 representatives. Ledru-Rollin fled to London (June 13, 1849). Then a new press law

* Article 5: "The French Republic respects foreign nations . . . and will never employ her forces against the liberty of any people."

required a deposit by way of security of 24,000 francs and gave the government the right to forbid the sale of newspapers (July, 1849). A bill was passed forbidding public political meetings. All these measures were directed against the Republican parties.

After having crushed the Mountain the government party began to break up. The President took advantage of a disagreement with his Orleanist ministers over the Roman policy to rid himself of them and replace them with personal partisans. In this way a Napoleonic party began slowly to detach itself from the monarchists, bidding for popularity by combating "the Reds." Carlier, perfect of police, founded a *Social Leagne* in opposition to socialism and had the liberty trees cut down.

Once again, in 1850, all the monarchists united against the Mountain. Their union was nicknamed "the Roman expedition at home." They passed two laws—the education bill (March, 1850) and the electoral law of May 31, 1850.

The educational bill was the work of the Catholic party. The Republican government in 1848 had proposed a scheme of free and compulsory instruction, but the Legislature did not approve even the principle. The majority distrusted lay teachers. The minister called them "the regimental officers of the democratic and social Republic"; Montalembert dubbed them "horrible little rhetoricians"; Lamartine said they were "fomenters of stupid anti-social doctrines." The law of 1850 made teachers subject to dismissal without right of appeal and imposed on them the obligation of teaching the catechism. This law, passed in the name of the principle of freedom in education, abolished the monopoly of the University and gave to individuals the right to open free schools, either secondary or primary. The "congregations," almost the only ones to profit by this liberty, founded all over France colleges and ecclesiastical primary schools. The municipalities received the right to choose for their primary schools between laymen and members of the congregation; almost all the schools for girls were given into the hands of the religious orders.

At the supplementary elections of 1850 almost all those elected belonged to the Mountain. The majority becamed alarmed and decided to "purify universal suffrage." The bill of May 31 made it necessary for each elector to have three years' residence, verified by the taxing lists of the department. It took away the right of voting from persons condemned for rebellion, outrage against authority, membership in a secret society or a club. The object

was to shut out from political life the workingmen and the democratic general staff; but the law also affected many of the peasants and diminished the number of electors by three millions.

The Conflict Between the President and the Assembly.—The monarchist parties and the President, after having worked in concert against the Republicans, broke apart. The President was increasing his personal power; he had taken his personal supporters for ministers; he laboured to attach to himself the higher officers of the army and the civil functionaries. He held military reviews and made excursions into the country, giving occasion for cries of "Long live Napoleon!" sometimes even "Long live the Emperor!" His adversaries accused the generals and the ministers of organizing these demonstrations. In the Assembly the undecided Conservatives rallied around him, and began to form a Bonapartist party. The Orleanist and Legitimist parties were alarmed and entered into a struggle against the President.

The conflict began over the review at Satory (October 10, 1850). The cavalry cried "Long live Napoleon!" the infantry made no cry. The minister of war cashiered the general who had ordered the silence. The permanent committee in session during the absence of the Assembly protested against the dismissal. The President put an end to the conflict by a conciliatory message.

Then practical questions arose,—the disposition of the armed force and the eligibility of the President to be elected for a second term,—questions which in one form or another filled the decisive year 1851.

First. The military power which the constitution intrusted to the President and to his minister of war, was in practice, shared between them and the commander-in-chief of the army and of the national guard of Paris. Changarnier had held this latter office since 1848 with the entire confidence of the monarchist parties. Changarnier had just broken with the President by taking the part of the cashiered general. The President, having failed in getting the Assembly to impeach him, dismissed him (January 5, 1851). The Assembly answered with a vote of want of confidence in the ministry. By the help of the Republicans this was carried by 417 votes against 286. The Assembly had now broken definitely with the President, but the former majority was dissolved. The Assembly was split into three irreconcilable factions: first, the President's party; secondly, the monarchist coalition made up of Legitimists, Orleanists, and fusionists (advocating a fusion between the two royal branches), and, thirdly, the

Republican party. From now on there was no majority save by coalition and the Assembly could pass only negative measures. The President, pleading the lack of a majority, appointed a ministry without a policy.

Second. The ministry demanded an increase of the President's salary. The proposition was rejected by a coalition of Republicans and Legitimists (396 against 294; February, 1851).

Third. The Orleanists demanded the abrogation of the laws decreeing exile against the princes of the Orléans family. The scheme was defeated by a coalition of Napoleonists and Legitimists.

Fourth. The Napoleonic party demanded the revision of the constitution. There was an article forbidding re-election of the outgoing President; Napoleon wanted to be re-elected. A committee organized an agitation to get petitions signed; with the aid of the government officials they secured over a million signatures, and of 85 general councils 80 demanded the revision. But by the Constitution of 1848 a revision required a three-quarters vote of the Assembly. The monarchist coalition voted against the revision, and the measure was defeated by a vote of 446 against 278 (July 26).

Vacation interrupted the struggle, but it was clearly seen that arms would be employed before long. The President had said at Dijon (June 1): "Whatever duties the nation may impose upon me, she will find me ready to carry out her wishes." The Republicans had organized secret societies, especially in the southeast and in a part of the centre, which seem to have been in touch with a central management at Paris and Lyons.* Some of these societies had initiation ceremonies copied from the old societies (the oath on a dagger), democratic emblems (red flag, Phrygian cap, spirit-level), and a password; they were in communication with foreign revolutionists and refugees in London and Switzerland. The government agents accused them of having stores of arms and lists of suspects; also of preparing to crush the prefectures in the elections of 1852 and create revolutionary tribunals. The President's message on the reopening of the

* This organization, which has still been little investigated, is rendered very obscure by the division into independent and even unfriendly groups, the Blanquist party (*Friends of Equality*), the *Central Democratic Committee* (Ledru-Rollin), Louis Blanc's Socialist party, Karl Marx's *Communist Alliance*, and the *Union of the Communes*.

Assembly declared: "A vast demagogic conspiracy is being organized in France and all over Europe."

Fifth. The President demanded the repeal of the electoral law of 1850 as incompatible with universal suffrage. Urgency was asked for the repealing bill, but was refused; and the scheme was rejected by a majority of six votes.

Sixth. St.-Arnaud, the minister of war, ordered the removal from all the barracks of all the placards of the decree of 1848, which gave the President of the Constituent Assembly of that year the right to call out the armed forces. The monarchist party, feeling the Assembly menaced by the executive power, presented the "proposition of the questors" conferring on the President of the Legislative Assembly the right to demand the services of the armed force and all persons in authority. The Republicans, however, feared a monarchist *coup d'état*. The proposition was defeated (November 18) by a coalition of Bonapartists and Republicans (408 to 300).

Establishment of Personal Power (1851-52).—The President put an end to the conflict by a *coup d'état* on the 2d of December, 1851. He published a decree declaring the Assembly dissolved, universal suffrage re-established, and the French people convoked in their primary assemblies. A proclamation to the people set forth the motives for the *coup d'état* and the plan for a revision of the constitution. Theoretically it was founded upon the sovereignty of the people: "My duty is to maintain the Republic . . . by invoking the judgment of the only sovereign I recognise in France—the people." In reality this was the revolt of the executive power, that is to say, of the armed force against the theoretical representatives of the nation. The *coup d'état* was prepared by the ministers and the generals of the army of Paris. It began with a proclamation to the soldiers.

The Assembly was disorganized. The government had taken care to arrest all party leaders during the night and to fill the Legislative hall with soldiers. Nevertheless 217 representatives, almost all monarchists, were able to meet at the town hall (*Mairie*) of the 10th arrondissement of Paris and constitute themselves as the Assembly. The constitution had provided against this contingency: If the President dissolves the Assembly he forfeits his position; the Assembly takes his powers and the High Court meets to judge him (Article 68). The Assembly therefore voted the expulsion of the President from office, and named a commandant for the army. The members were arrested and im-

prisoned. The High Court met at the Palace and began preparations for the trial; it was dispersed.

Resistance to the *coup d'état* was slow in organizing; it was the work of the Republicans. In Paris the soldiers marched through the streets and fired upon the unarmed crowd; the only real battle was in the workingmen's quarters in the east of Paris (Saint-Antoine, Saint-Martin). In fifteen or more departments of the southeast and the centre there were local insurrections of Republicans, who tried to take possession of the chief towns. These insurgents, especially in the southeast, were peasants and members of secret societies. The government took advantage of this to represent the movement as a *jacquerie* or a communist uprising and to pose as the defender of society. The President proclaimed martial law in 32 departments, granted himself by decree (December 8) the right to exile all members of secret societies, and created mixed commissions (a general, a prefect, and an attorney) with power to judge without appeal.

According to a document discovered in the Tuileries in 1870, there were 26,642 persons arrested and only 6500 released; 5108 were made subject to police supervision, and 15,033 condemned (of whom 9530 were transported to Algeria, 239 to Cayenne after a long term on the pontoons, 2804 confined in a French city). Eighty representatives, almost all Republicans, were banished. The Republican party, deprived of its leaders and its most active members, remained disorganized and hardly recovered from the blow until the return of these convicts and exiles in 1859.

The President, having rid himself of the Assembly, which had held the legislative power, and the Republicans who were preparing to secure it again in the elections of 1852, found himself absolute master of France. He organized his government on the model adopted by Napoleon I., the Constitution of the year VIII., which had "once already brought France peace and prosperity."

The President, elected for ten years, had all the executive power. He was to be assisted by three bodies: a "Council of State," appointed by him to prepare bills for enactment; a "Legislative Body," elected by universal suffrage, to discuss and vote bills and the budget; a "second assembly" (soon called the Senate), appointed by the President as "guardian of the fundamental compact and of public liberties." The ministers were chosen by the President and dependent upon him alone; they

were no longer responsible. There was only one responsible person, the President, but he was not responsible to any organized body; he was responsible only to the people. Theoretically this system concentrated all the powers in a sovereign nation, practically in the chief who represented it, for the people had no way to express their will but by *plébiscite*, voting "yes" or "no." This constitution, however, differed from that of Napoleon I., in that it admitted a Chamber elected directly by the people. This was a concession to representative democratic government in a *régime* of personal government. Universal suffrage, the creation of the Revolution of '48, is preserved and even made the legal foundation of the constitution.

This system, proposed on the 2d of December, was voted by *plébiscite*—7,481,000 voting in favour and 647,002 against. Of the opposing votes 39,000 were cast by soldiers. Then the system was embodied in the Constitution of 1852. This defined the President's powers; not only was he to choose all public officers, declare war, make treaties, and declare martial law, but he had the *sole* initiative in lawmaking, the Chamber being forbidden to discuss any but bills laid before it by him: it could not even vote amendments without his approval. The Senate, composed of 150 life members, was to expound and maintain the constitution. Laws had to be submitted to it before promulgation; but it was not a mere second chamber to pass or reject measures adopted by the Legislative Body. It was the guardian of the constitution, and, as such, had the right to correct any arbitrary or illegal act brought to its attention by the government or by petition of citizens. The Legislative Body was reduced to 251 deputies; they were required to swear fidelity to the President.

Napoleon regarded himself as continuing his uncle's work, but he gave his own interpretations to the policy pursued by Napoleon I. In the "Napoleonic Ideas" he calls Napoleon the "testamentary executor of the Revolution," who had "hastened the reign of Liberty." He shows him absorbed by the desire to establish democracy and to attain peace through war. Now "the nature of democracy is to personify itself in one man." Napoleon, like his uncle, wished to embody democracy and promised to bring peace.

He had kept only provisionally the title of President. In his tour through the country in 1852 he was received as a sovereign. He himself at Bordeaux announced the restoration of the Empire by saying: "The Empire means peace." The Senate chosen by

him passed a senatorial decree proclaiming Napoleon III. *Emperor of the French*. The people accepted it by a *plébiscite* (December 10, 1852). This was a restoration of the first Empire. The power was to be hereditary in the imperial family (the children of King Jerome): an imperial dynasty was established.

The Autocratic Empire (1852-60).—During the first years of the Empire French political life was suspended. There were still political institutions, a chamber, elections, newspapers; the imperial government had had the art to make their power illusory by reducing them to the mockery of serving only as an ornamental mask for the personal absolutism of the Emperor and his ministers. This art consisted in measures of detail combined so as to paralyze all political life.

The Chamber met at Paris for three months every year, to pass laws and vote the budget. They could, however, neither make their own rules, nor elect their president, nor propose a bill. Their sessions were public, but their debates could be published only in the form of an official analytic report, and the vote of only five members could compel a secret discussion. There was, therefore, no way for the opposition to come before the public. They voted the budget, but in the lump, the appropriations for a whole ministry at once, and the government, by transfers, could make even this vote amount to nothing.

All male citizens could vote. The constitution rested upon universal suffrage, and the qualification was made even simpler, by substituting the commune for the canton as the voting district (or precinct) and single-member districts for the general ticket by departments. The government, however, controlled the elections in several ways. It presented in each district an *official candidate* recommended to the voters by white paper posters, at the expense of the state. It made all public officials support him actively. The theory was that the citizens needed the guidance of the government. The opposition candidate had the disadvantage of presenting himself under his private name, at his own expense, and as an adversary of the established power. After 1858 he was obliged, in addition, to sign a declaration of fidelity to the Emperor and to the constitution. All election meetings were forbidden, as a violation of the freedom of the voters; even the distribution of ballots was not permitted, the Court of Cassation having decided that a ballot, like a book, must be subject to the law forbidding hawking and could only be given out at a fixed place. The election was directed by the mayor; all the

mayors since 1852 had been appointed by the government. The voting lasted two days; in the country, in the evening of the first day, the mayor carried off the ballot box to his own house; supervision was out of the question. In places where the peasants had not yet grown accustomed to come and vote, the mayor improvised the results of the ballot. The electoral districts were fixed, not by law, but by a simple order of the government, made every 5 years without any rule. They laid out the districts in the way most advantageous to the official candidates. They cut up the cities into fragments, which they joined to rural districts in order to overcome the opposition of the city democrats by the votes of the peasantry.

Political journals were not suppressed, nor even as in 1815 subjected to a censorship. The deposit by way of security for good behaviour, although doubled since 1852 (50,000 francs in Paris), was still less than in 1819. But the decree of 1852 had robbed the press of all guarantee of independence. Previous authorization for new journals was once more established, and such authorization was granted only on condition that the government should name the editor-in-chief. Press offences were taken away from jury courts and given to tribunals of summary jurisdiction. On the second condemnation the journal was suppressed. The government also secured the right to suppress any paper in the name of public security. It was unlawful to report press cases or sessions of the Chambers, or to publish false news —that is to say, news displeasing to the government. The famous system of *warnings* was established. If an article was displeasing to the government, the paper received a warning from the prefect; on a second offence, the paper might be suspended. The prefects issued these warnings at will. The *Corsican Observer* received one for having discussed public pastures: "this attack may excite discontent among a certain class of citizens"; the *Lighthouse of the Loire* for the following sentence: "The Emperor has made a speech which, according to the Havas agency, several times evoked cries of 'Long live the Emperor!'" the ground of warning being that "this doubtful expression is unsuitable in the presence of the wild enthusiasm which the Emperor's words excited. . ." *

* The censorship of theatres permitted nothing with the slightest political allusion, even of the most indirect nature. An opera on the Fronde was forbidden as "impregnated with the spirit of revolution," and because of the introduction of riots and the cry "To arms!" on the stage. Musset

Even individuals were watched by the police, and a political conversation was enough to brand a person as a suspect under this administration, which, having no public exposure to fear, made arbitrary disposal of the liberty of all its subjects. The caprice of an agent might cause the arrest and detention of anyone who seemed to him dangerous. The comedian Grassot was arrested for having been overheard to say in a café: "This is like Sebastopol; one can't take anything." A woman was arrested at Tours for having said that the grape blight was coming again; in releasing her the prefect threatened to imprison her for life if she spread any more bad news.

The national guard had not been abolished; but the decree of 1852 had declared the national guards dissolved, adding that their "reorganization would depend on circumstances." They were not reorganized.

The University remained, but subject to a *régime* calculated to make it lose its liberal tendencies. The instructors must take the oath of fidelity to the Emperor, and many preferred to resign. The professors might be dismissed at any time, without appeal. Education tended toward confining itself to the ancient languages and the sciences; the professorships of history and philosophy were suppressed. The Fortoul ministry has remained famous (1851-56); this was the time when the exercises in all the classes in France must take place at the same hour; when the professors received the order to shave their mustaches that they might drop "from their appearance as well as from their manners the last vestiges of anarchy."

The government depended on the army, which assured its power; on the commercial middle class, satisfied with being no longer troubled by politics; and above all on the clergy, who made the country electors vote for the official candidates. (The most widely circulated newspaper in the clerical world, the *Univers*, after having supported the Republic, had gone over to Napoleon.)

Under this system political life had ceased. The Republicans, deprived of their chiefs by exile or transportation, and persecuted by the police, had no longer any means of showing their opposition. They had not even deputies until 1857, and from 1857 to

could not produce his "Lorenzaccio" because "the discussion of the right to assassinate a sovereign whose crime cried for vengeance" was "a dangerous spectacle."

1863 they had only five,—"the Five,"—elected by Paris and Lyons. The Legitimists and Orleanists were less persecuted, as the government hoped to win them over individually; but the clergy, by joining Napoleon, had taken away their voters. The opposition was scarcely shown except in the salons and in newspapers brought in from foreign countries (England, Belgium, and Switzerland). The government watched the frontier and searched travellers, to prevent the entry of books and papers hostile to the Emperor.

The leading men of the country were absorbed in business undertakings. The great events of this period were the construction of railroads, the creation of joint-stock companies, the foundation of great financial establishments, the *credit foncier*, the *credit mobilier*, agricultural societies, the World's Exposition of 1855, the transformation of Paris undertaken systematically by Hausmann (1854), etc. Napoleon considered great public works a means of winning over the industrial classes by procuring them work. The only domestic political events were the Republican plot of 1853 and three attacks on the Emperor. The most important of these attacks was made by Orsini in 1858. It was a purely Italian plot, but the government used it against the Republicans. They forced the Chamber to vote the General Security Act. This law gave the government the power to detain, exile, or transport *without trial* any person previously condemned for political offences; and to imprison or exile any persons so condemned in the future.

Espinasse, a general well known for his share in the *coup d'état*, was appointed minister of the interior to apply this law. He sent an order to each prefect to arrest a certain number of persons, using his own choice in the selection. According to Blanchard this number varied from 20 to 41; it was "proportioned to the general spirit of the department." Each prefect interpreted the order in his own way—some limiting themselves to men condemned at the time of the Republic, others taking those who seemed to them dangerous, chiefly workingmen, lawyers, and doctors. The object was simply to intimidate the people.

Decline of the Autocratic Regime (1860-66).—The decisive events of Napoleon III.'s reign were the foreign wars. The Emperor had the right to declare war without consulting the Chamber. He had employed this right to pursue his personal policy abroad, but his wars and his treaties reacted on his govern-

ment at home. The nation's fate hung upon the Emperor's foreign policy.

Up to 1857 the government had the support of the clergy against the Liberals. The Italian war alienated the clergy; by setting up the Kingdom of Italy and allowing it to deprive the Pope of the greater part of his states, the Emperor had aroused Catholic opposition. To offset this loss Napoleon tried to win over the Liberals. He began by the general amnesty of 1859, permitting the return of all the exiles and convicts of 1851. The Republicans, re-enforced by the return of their former leaders, so far from fulfilling these hopes, found themselves once more strong enough for open opposition. To conciliate the parliamentary Liberals, Napoleon relaxed his legislative system. He gave the Chamber the right to draw up an address in response to the speech from the throne. He permitted the publication of the debates in full in the official organ, the *Moniteur* (November, 1860). The ministerial budget was divided into sections on which the Chamber voted separately (1861). This was returning to former parliamentary practices. At the same time the Emperor, without consulting the Chamber, which he knew to be dominated by protectionists, concluded with England the commercial treaty of 1860, abolishing prohibitions, and lowering protective duties. This was to set France on the road toward *free trade.*

The press restrictions were also abated. Moderate opposition papers were permitted, where criticism was veiled under the form of allusions. The Orleanist *Journal des Débats*, the Republican *Siècle*, and the *Figaro* began to be published. Political life had begun again.

A coalition was formed between the enemies of the Empire—the Republicans, the Orleanists, and even the Legitimists; this was known as the *Liberal Opposition.* At the elections of 1863, there were 35 opposition members and 249 government members. Paris elected none but oppositionists.

Meanwhile Napoleon, once more taking up the democratic policy set forth in *Napoleonic Ideas*, carried the bill of 1864 giving workingmen the right of forming unions.

In the Chamber elected in 1863 parliamentary life awoke again. The minority tried to excite public opinion by speeches against the government. They attacked their military expeditions (especially the Mexican campaign), their expenses and their borrowings (Berryer in 1865 reproached the government with hav-

ing in 12 years created a deficit equal to that of previous governments in 50). Their system of police and of repression were also attacked. (Thiers demanded the *necessary liberties*). The Catholic party, working independently, attacked the policy adopted in Italy. The contest became acute when the government forbade the publication of the *Syllabus*, as "containing propositions contrary to the principles upon which the Constitution of France rested" (January, 1865). The bishops protested; the protestation was condemned by the Council of State. The speech from the throne promised to "maintain the rights of the civil power"; the bishops continued to protest. The Catholic party, having become hostile to the government, made war on Duruy, the minister of public education. The bishops protested against the creation of a course of secondary education for girls. They presented, and supported before the Senate, petitions denouncing the University instruction as materialistic (1868).

Little by little there grew up a Liberal-Imperialist party, disposed to sustain the Emperor, but dissatisfied with the government of his ministers; the latter were reproached with acting each for himself and arbitrarily. The Emperor, who was now beginning to suffer in health, and who, besides, had never cared to occupy himself with home affairs, was not strong enough to maintain harmony among his ministers and to prevent their abuse of power. The Chamber, deprived of all control over the ministers, was reduced to the registration of laws and budgets. In accordance with the doctrine of the liberal Constitutionalists, they demanded a coherent ministry, wishing to secure to the Chamber a controlling power over the government and a means of intervention in general politics. A group of deputies constituted themselves a "third party" and proposed an amendment to the address; this was the only occasion open to the Chamber for showing an opinion on general political affairs. The amendment received 63 votes in 1865 and again in 1866.

The third party demanded, not the complete parliamentary system, but what was known as the "development of political liberty," that is to say, a responsible ministry, common law for the press, freedom of public meeting (in 1865 the trial of the thirteen had just taken place: thirteen political men condemned under the law forbidding a meeting of more than 20 persons). The third party's struggle against the government took the form of a rivalry between Rouher, the leading minister, a declared advocate of the autocratic *régime*, and Ollivier, one of the 5 Republican

deputies, who had entered into relations with the Emperor since 1864. This rivalry covered a difference of views regarding foreign policy. Rouher favoured war, or at least a warlike tone toward Prussia and Italy, as did also the Empress and the Catholic party, naturally devoted to the Pope and to Austria. The third party wanted peace.

After the war of 1866 and the Mexican disaster, the Emperor, feeling himself isolated in Europe and disapproved by even his own subordinates, decided to look to the third party for support. This intention he announced by the letter of January 19, 1867.

The Liberal Concessions (1867-69).—The new *régime* first gave the Chamber the right of questioning the ministers on every act of either foreign or domestic policy. The Senate's function was precisely defined: to examine every law passed by the Chamber and cancel it if it seemed contrary to the constitution. The Emperor had also promised a press law and a law on public meetings. But he hesitated, wavering between the influence of Rouher and that of Ollivier, and finally, in 1868, decided to present the promised laws.

The press law abolished the government's discretionary power, that is to say, the *régime* of administrative authorizations and warnings. A permit was no longer necessary for establishing a newspaper, a declaration being sufficient. Journals could no longer be suppressed save by judicial process; but press trials remained subject to the courts of summary process, not to jury courts; and press offences were still visited with heavy penalties. It was still forbidden to discuss the constitution or to publish anything about legislative debates except the official report.

The law relating to public meetings permitted any seven citizens to hold a public political meeting, on signing a declaration assuming responsibility for its lawful character. It had to be held in a closed hall and in the presence of a government agent empowered to break it up. The government reserved the right to postpone or to forbid any such meeting.

After 1866 the government tried to get the Chamber to agree to a new military organization. The army, formed partly of reenlisted soldiers or substitutes, partly of conscripts drafted for seven years' service, was a small, professional army. Even by calling out the reserve, created in 1861 and formed of conscripts serving only a few months, the whole army amounted to only 600,000 men. Military obligation was very unevenly distributed, falling only on the poor. In place of *substitution* the government

had in 1855 passed a law allowing a money payment in commutation of the service. The state used this money to procure an experienced soldier in place of the man excused. After the campaign of 1866, Niel, minister of war, proposed universal military service like that of Prussia, but the Chamber would not consent to it. It seemed still impossible in France, as in all other European countries, to induce the young men of the middle classes to perform military service. The Republican party (Jules Simon) proposed to adopt the Swiss system: universal service reduced to a few weeks,—the time necessary to learn the trade,—the army to be transformed into a defensive national militia. This system would have required a policy of peace; it was barely discussed.

The Chamber finally compromised, granting the government a service of nine years in two periods, five years with the active army, and four with the reserve—which was expected to yield a force of 800,000 men. The government renounced the requirement of actual service in the *garde mobile*, which was to include all those exempted from service in the army. The guard was officially created, but remained on paper merely.

The Republicans took advantage of the partial liberty granted by the laws of 1868 to make open opposition to the Empire in their papers and in public meetings. This was the time of the *Lanterne* (founded in 1868, and condemned after its third issue); of the subscription in honour of Baudin, the representative killed in the *coup d'état* of 1851, and of the trial of the subscribers wherein Gambetta made the speech which made him famous (November, 1868).

In the Chamber, the deputies who favoured autocratic government, being dissatisfied with the Liberal concessions and the policy of peace, banded themselves together as a party, and were known as the *Arcadiens* (they met at the Rue de l'Arcade). Their program was to force a war in order to re-establish the honour and influence of France, so greatly compromised by the Prussian victories. A victorious war, they thought, would strengthen the Imperial dynasty and permit a return to the autocratic *régime*.

The Liberal Empire and the Radical Party (1869-70).—The general elections of 1869 definitely decided Napoleon to adopt a new system. Royalists and Republicans were united against the government. The opposition, working in harmony, had, since 1863, gained a million and a half of voters, while the government had lost a million. In the Chamber, the third party was becoming the ruling force. They drew up an interpellation signed by

116 deputies, demanding a responsible ministry. United with 40 deputies of the Left they henceforth held the majority. The Emperor at first granted only one-half; he promised to increase the powers of the House, but without any mention of the ministry (July 12). He then dismissed Rouher, changed three ministers, and finally accepted a plan which became the senatorial decree of September, 1869.

In this new system, the Chamber became a real parliamentary assembly like that of England, electing its officers and making its own rules. It had the initiative in lawmaking, the right to demand explanations of ministerial policy and pronounce a decisive judgment thereon; the right to vote the budget and to discuss amendments clause by clause. The Senate also became a deliberative body, with public sessions, the right to question the ministers, and to make its own rules. It had the power to reject any bill passed by the Chamber which it declared to be contrary to the constitution. The ministers deliberated in council; they were dependent only on the Emperor, but were *responsible*, the Senate being, however, the body entitled to impeach them. Ministerial responsibility was thus at once proclaimed and rendered nugatory.

Napoleon, weakened by disease (he was believed to be dying in August, 1869), took his time in reorganizing his government. He admitted that a new system required new men and he was in negotiation with Ollivier, leader of the third party; but he wished to keep some of the old ministers. Meanwhile, contrary to the constitution, he neglected to convoke the Chamber. When it at length met, he announced to it officially a system of government "equally removed from reaction and from revolutionary theories," founded at once on order and liberty. "I answer for order; help me to save liberty."

Thus began the Liberal Empire. It was not a true parliamentary system; the Emperor continued to exercise the executive power through ministers of his own choice, and the power of changing the constitution through the Senate, whose members he himself appointed. As to the policy to be pursued, the third party was divided; the great majority followed Ollivier, who was content with the new system. A group led by old parliamentarians (Buffet, Daru) was disposed to demand more power for the elected Chamber and formed itself into the Left Centre; the rest of the third party became the Right Centre. The old government party (the official deputies) formed the Right; the

Arcadians took the Extreme Right. After long negotiations, Ollivier was charged by the Emperor to form a homogeneous cabinet representing the majority in the Chamber. This was the ministry of January 2, 1870, composed of four deputies of the Right Centre, four of the Left Centre, and three of the previous ministry. With the third party and the deputies of the Right professedly supporting the ministry, it had an enormous majority in the Chamber to support it in the experiment of the Liberal Empire. It announced certain measures relating to the press, the repeal of the law of 1858, and permission to sell newspapers in the streets.

The Left continued in opposition, unable to forgive Napoleon for the *coup d'état* or Ollivier for his conversion to the Empire. Although powerless in the Chamber, where they controlled hardly 40 votes, they had the advantage of representing the most ardent part of political France, all the large cities, the labouring classes, and the students. The prefect of police affirmed this as early as 1867. "The masses . . . remain true to the Emperor. . . The active portion of society, that which is most interested in politics, is strong in radical and systematic opposition." The Left opposed the Empire in the name of liberty and the parliamentary system; but they were mainly Republicans.

An openly Republican party, the *Irreconciliables*, had been organized during the elections of 1869. It was made up of the remains of the Republican party of '48 and the young generation brought up under their influence. This party revived the traditions of the democratic republic of 1793 and 1848. The majority of the party, who began to be known as the *Radicals*, demanded in the name of the sovereignty of the nation a *régime* similar to that of Switzerland and the United States. This appeared in the Belleville program (Gambetta's election program in 1869). It demanded "the most radical application of universal suffrage" in the election of municipal councillors and of deputies—"individual liberty placed under the shield of the law," liberty of the press, of public meetings and clubs, and jury trial for all political offences—"primary lay instruction, gratuitous and compulsory," "competitive examination for admission to the higher courses" —separation of Church and state—"suppression of standing armies"—modification of the tax system—the election of all officials—"direct responsibility of all officials," the suggestion being that Article 75 of the Constitution of the year VIII., then still in force, should be repealed. This article forbade the prose-

cution of an official for abuse of power, except by consent of the government.*

With the Radical party were mingled Socialists, few in number, without organization and without a party program, disciples of Proudhon (Mutualists), advocating social reform by industrial association, partisans of state intervention, and a revolutionary Blanquist group. But the political contest absorbed all public interest. The Belleville program limited itself to a vague allusion to the "economic reforms which affect the social problem, the solution of which is almost dependent on political transformation."

The Republican party excited public interest by demonstrations against the Empire. The most effective was at the funeral of Victor Noir (January 2, 1870), who had been killed by Prince Pierre Bonaparte. There were at least 100,000 persons present, and they seemed disposed to make an outbreak. Since 1866 there had been a series of strikes in the country and small uprisings in Paris. But Paris at the end of the Empire was no longer the Paris of 1848; it had been enlarged by all the suburbs within the fortifications (8 new arrondissements), inhabited by workingmen and strongly Republican. The former barricading quarters were wiped out or traversed by great avenues without paving stones, and open to a cavalry charge or artillery fire. No insurrection could any more avail against the Paris garrison provided with perfected arms. The street warfare which had once done so much for the Republicans was now out of the question.

Even in the heart of the ministry the Left Centre demanded the repeal of the two remaining features of the autocratic *régime:* the right of the government to fix the boundaries of electoral districts and to present official candidates; and, secondly, the exclusive power of the Senate in amending the constitution. The Left took advantage of this to expose the false position of the ministers. Jules Favre called them "the sentinels who mount guard over the personal government in order to make us credit the existence of a parliamentary *régime.*" The Left then persuaded Ollivier to declare himself publicly against the system of official candidature. A portion of the Right, irritated by this declaration, broke away from the majority, and formed a group of imperialist opposition (February 26). Ollivier, bound by his promises of reform, finally proposed to the Senate a revision of the constitution.

The revision was accepted (April 20), and the constitution

* It remained in force till 1870.

modified in accordance with the parliamentary system. The Senate became, like that of all other countries, an upper house, sharing the legislative power with the elected house. Its constitution-making power, created in 1852, was taken from it and given to the nation; that is to say, no change could be made in the constitution except by *plébiscite.*

On the advice of Rouher, the Emperor decided to apply the new principle by inviting the people to vote on this proposition: "The French nation approves the liberal reforms made in the constitution since 1860, and ratifies the senatorial decree of April 20, 1870." The affirmative vote showed at once that the people ratified the liberal reforms by accepting the transformation of the imperial *régime,* "and that they desired to retain the Emperor and facilitate the transmission of the crown to his son." The Republicans declared that they regarded the plebiscite as a means of confiscating the national will and decided to vote *no.* The autocratic Imperialists and Liberals voted *yes.* The ministry ordered all officials to display a "devouring activity" in urging the affirmative vote. The plebiscite of May 8 gave more than 7,000,000 *yes,* and 1,500,000 *no.*

The liberal Empire seemed consolidated by this enormous majority. But the Left Centre ministers, who opposed the plebiscite, had retired. Daru, advocate of peace, was replaced in the office of foreign affairs by an enemy of Prussia and Italy, the Duke of Gramont. He it was who embroiled France in the war with Prussia. The belligerent and autocratic party resumed control of the government; the ministry, constituted on a peace program, let itself be persuaded to declare war in the name of national honour. The Chamber supported the ministry by refusing (159 votes against 84) to exact the communication of diplomatic documents, and by voting an appropriation of 500,000,000 francs for the mobilization of the army. They were, however, counting on a sure victory; the minister of war said: "We are ready, more than ready"; and Ollivier: "We accept the responsibility with a light heart."

At the news of the first defeats, the ministry was abandoned by the majority, a declaration of want of confidence was passed by the Chamber. The Empress, acting as regent in the absence of the Emperor, who had gone to the front, intrusted General Palikao with the task of forming a ministry. This ministry, taken from the belligerent Right, was the last ministry of the Empire.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE PARLIAMENTARY REPUBLIC.

Government of National Defence.—The Imperial government defended itself against the Republican population of Paris by means of its army. When the army was lost in the Prussian war the Empire fell without resistance. At the news of the capitulation of Sedan, the Left proposed that the *Corps Legislatif* should vote the fall of the Empire and elect a committee of government (September 3). The ministers tried to save the Regency by bringing up a project signed by the Empress, instituting a council of 5 deputies (September 4, 1870). Thiers proposed a committee. The *Corps Legislatif*, however, had no time to vote; the mob broke in crying: "Down with the Empire! Long live the Republic!" and the Republic was proclaimed in the midst of tumult. The Paris deputies, uniting with Trochu, the military governor, constituted a "Government of National Defence." This government refused to negotiate with the Chamber, and, holding to Republican tradition, established itself in the Hôtel de Ville. As in 1848, the Republic grew out of an insurrectionary movement. But in '48 it was imposed by a bare half of Paris upon all the rest of France, whereas in 1870 it was demanded by a large party which controlled all the large cities and a part of the centre and east. In Lyons, Bordeaux, and Marseilles the Republic had been proclaimed without waiting for news from Paris.

The Government of the National Defence lasted till the end of the war. It divided itself into two sections: the principal portion was besieged with the rest of Paris; a *delegation* of 3 members, re-enforced presently by Gambetta's escape from Paris in a balloon (October 6), governed the rest of France. It was stationed first at Tours, later at Bordeaux.

In Paris the government experienced a crisis like that in 1848. The Republican party, as in '48, was made up of Democrats and Socialists; the Democrats alone had taken command. But in

organizing the national guard arms were given to all the able-bodied men in Paris (over 300,000), which placed the government at the mercy of the national guards. A revolutionary party, following the eternal insurgent Blanqui, demanded the creation of a Commune of Paris elected by universal suffrage, as in 1792. They adopted the *Blanquist tactics* of a sudden attack on the seat of government, and took advantage of the public feeling against Trochu, who was accused of having made a weak defence for the city. At the news of the capitulation of Metz and of the armistice officially proclaimed, the national guards of Belleville marched on the Hôtel de Ville and took possession of it, crying: "War to the death! Commune!" They held the government prisoner (October 31) until it was released by the national guards of other parts of the city. Then, to strengthen its position, the government organized a plebiscite of the inhabitants of Paris, and won a heavy majority in favour of its powers (357,000 yes, 62,000 no). There was only one other attack on the Hôtel de Ville, at the end of the siege; the government, for answer, closed the clubs and appointed two councils of war (January 22).

In the country the delegation was directed by Gambetta, minister of the interior and of war, who exercised an almost absolute authority. He replaced the imperial officials with an improvised set of his own choosing, appointed local agents invested with indefinite powers, dissolved the councils general of the departments (December 25), ordered levies of men and requisitions of supplies, issued proclamations and commands as if he were a king. He worked in the name of the nation's welfare, without control, as had been done in 1793. He met with no resistance, except an outbreak at Lyons, where a body of guerrillas (*franc-tireurs*) occupied the prefecture (September 22) and tried to establish a commune. The federations of departments, which were formed under the name of leagues (League of the West at Rennes, of the South at Toulouse, of the Southeast at Marseilles), existed only in name.

The government called itself provisional; the nature of the government to be established must depend on the decision of two questions: What government will the Germans recognise? What will be the sovereign assembly elected by the French? The difficulty was to get Germany to accept the Republic and to get the voters to ratify it.

The German government hesitated. Bismarck had an inter-

view with Jules Favre, the delegate from the National Defence, at Ferrières (September 19), without any result. Favre would entertain no cession of territory and Bismarck insisted on surrender of a fort commanding Paris in exchange for an armistice. There was still in Metz an Imperial army; the general-in-chief, Bazaine, sent a request to the King of Prussia that this army might be allowed to march out and restore order and the Empire in Paris. The King agreed, on condition that the army declared itself ready to maintain the power of the Empress as Regent, and that the Empress should call on the nation to ratify the peace and the cession of the territories demanded by Prussia. The Empress, in London, on the advice of her council, declared herself unable to accept any mutilation of France (October 23) and demanded an armistice for the army at Metz. The King refused, and Bazaine's army capitulated a few days later. After this the German government, renouncing the re-establishment of the Empire, negotiated only with the National Defence and tried to secure the election of a representative assembly which alone could conclude terms of peace.

The government at Paris hesitated. They believed that the voters would elect a Republican assembly, but they knew that the prevailing sentiment was for peace, and they insisted, for the honour of France, upon continuing the war to the very end. The Delegation of Tours had appointed a general election for October 16; the government of Paris annulled the decree, and sent Thiers to the German camp to negotiate for a truce. Bismarck demanded some of the forts of Paris, then proposed to have the assembly elected without an armistice; the government refused. Outside Paris Gambetta was urging war to the bitter end. The moment for securing a Republican assembly was thus allowed to slip by. An impression got abroad that the election of Republicans would mean the continuation of the war.

The Election of the Assembly and the Commune.—In signing the capitulation of Paris the government accepted an armistice that a National Assembly might be elected. They went back to the forms of 1848. The elections were made by general ticket for each department, the whole number of deputies being fixed at 750. A plurality was sufficient to elect. The deputies were to be paid at the rate fixed in 1848. Gambetta, at Bordeaux, added, contrary to the conditions of the armistice, a clause declaring ineligible all persons who had been officials or deputies or official candidates under the Empire. He thus placed him-

self in open opposition to the government at Paris, which annulled his decree.

The election of February 8, 1871, was held without preparation. The Imperialists, whom Gambetta had wished to shut out, dared not present themselves. The electors had the choice, in Paris, between government partisans and revolutionists. In the country the choice was between Republicans supported by the Bordeaux delegation on the one hand, and opponents of Gambetta, mostly Royalists and dissenting Republicans, on the other. Paris elected many revolutionists; the invaded departments and the southeast sent chiefly Republicans. But in almost all the rest of France the peasants avoided the Republican ticket as the "war ticket" and voted for the "peace ticket," that is to say, in opposition to Gambetta. As in 1849, the majority in the Assembly was made up of men of the old monarchist parties (Orleanists and Legitimists), elected by the peasants. The Republicans nicknamed it the "Assembly of clod-hoppers."

The Assembly, meeting at Bordeaux, refused to proclaim the Republic and declared that they "would await the nation's decision as to the definitive form of government." They limited themselves to the election of a *head of the executive power* (Thiers, the popular man of the moment), who should exercise his power under the supervision of the Assembly and with the aid of ministers chosen and directed by himself. This was the *compact of Bordeaux* (February 17). Thiers chose his ministers among moderate Republicans and declared himself to be without a program, except to bring peace to the country, restore France's credit, and revive her industry. The Assembly voted for peace and the deposition of Napoleon, then established itself at Versailles (March, 1871).

The population of Paris, already wearied with a long siege, were unwilling to obey the Assembly of Versailles, which they suspected of wishing to suppress the Republic and deprive Paris of its position as the capital of France. Two practical measures completed the exasperation of the Parisians. The Government of the National Defence had, during the siege, suspended the payment of rents and notes in Paris. The Assembly refused to prolong the stay-law. In the course of negotiations with the Germans for the disarmament of the garrison of Paris, Favre had insisted upon the national guardsmen retaining their arms; the Parisians had thus remained armed. The pay of the national guard (a franc and a half a day) was the only means of sub-

sistence for many while awaiting a renewal of ordinary occupations. The Assembly suppressed this payment, except in the case of persons provided with a certificate of indigence.

There was in Paris a revolutionary party with a vaguely socialist tendency, made up chiefly from the eastern suburbs. This party set on foot a "Republican Federation of the National Guard," with the avowed object of defending the interests of the national guard and of resisting every attempt against the Republic (March 3). The federation was to be directed by a Central Committee of 60 delegates. The Central Committee, constituted on March 15, was in reality composed of only about 30 delegates, but it acted as the representative of the whole national guard and undertook to place Paris in rebellion, and act as its government.

Several cannon had been brought to Montmartre by the national guards; the provisional Central Committee having refused to give them up, the Versailles government sent soldiers to seize them, but they were repulsed. Two generals were captured and shot by the insurgents. The Central Committee installed itself at the Hôtel de Ville (March 10). Thus the insurrection began.

Only a part of Paris accepted the insurgent government. The national guards of the western quarters adhered to the "party of order," that is to say, the government of the Assembly. They made a pacific demonstration which ended in a massacre. The mayors of Paris negotiated between the Central Committee and the Assembly; they obtained, to appease the Parisians, delay in the collection of rents and debts, the right of the national guard to elect its own officers and the election of the members of the Communal Council of Paris by universal suffrage. The election on March 26 gave a strong majority to the partisans of the Central Committee; the members elected by the party of conciliation refused to sit. The rupture was complete.

The French government had evacuated Paris and the forts, even Mont Valérien, which it had reoccupied. Whether because Thiers thought himself unable to dispute Paris with the insurgents or because he wished for a war to get rid of the revolutionary party, the government had not supported the national guards of its own party in Paris, and had concentrated all its troops at Versailles to defend the Assembly. Paris was thus in insurrection against the rest of France.

The "Council General" of the Commune assumed the government; but the Central Committee continued to sit in order, as

it said, to serve as a link between the Council and the national guard; and there was no division of powers between the two. It was this motley government that bore the name of the *Commune.*

It began by disarming the national guards favourable to the Assembly. It established compulsory military service for all able-bodied men, and declared void all acts of the "Versailles government." It established ten committees, the chief one being the *Executive Committee* of seven members, which was replaced later by nine delegates, one from each of the other committees; each of these nine took the title of a minister as if it were at the head of a department.

The Commune adopted the Republican calendar and the red flag, which had become the emblem of the Socialist party, but it was made up of a coalition of revolutionists without a common program. Of the 78 new members sitting in the Council, only a score, members of the International, had projects of social reform (Varlin, Malon, Frankel); a score were Blanquists, partisans of a violent revolution, without definite aim; the rest were democrats of the pattern of 1793, inaccurately called Jacobins (Vallès, Rigault), Mountaineers of '49, with vague socialistic aspirations (Delescluze, F. Pyat), or perhaps sceptics who had joined the revolution for the sake of power.

The Commune was never anything more than a tumultuous organization born of insurrection. It was regarded both in France and abroad as a gathering of adventurers without political standing. Its supporters, who called themselves *Fédérés*, were known under the name of *Communards.* They were not even recognised as belligerents; from the beginning of the fighting the government had its prisoners shot. The Commune replied by imprisoning notable persons "suspected of an understanding with Versailles," as hostages doomed to be shot by way of reprisal.

In several large cities (Marseilles, Toulouse, Saint-Étienne, Narbonne) a revolutionary party tried to establish a commune, independent of the National Assembly. All these movements were quickly suppressed. At Lyons alone an irregular government established itself peaceably; it set up the red flag, but in the end quietly dispersed. The civil war was confined to Paris. It began with a march of the insurgents on Versailles; but it soon took the form of a siege of Paris by the national army, now reorganized and in possession of Mont Valérien.

The Commune, busied with the war, failed to organize a gov-

ernment or even a police. In the matter of social reforms it voted only certain measures of detail proposed by the Internationalists; it did not even attempt to seize the money of the Bank of France. Its chief political act was the proclamation of April 19, which expressed the theory of government as "absolute communal autonomy extended to all parts of France." All communes should exercise "the rights inherent in the commune: the right of voting the communal budget, of fixing and apportioning the taxes—of controlling the local services—of organizing the magistracy, internal police, and education—of administering the communal property—of choosing public officers by election or competition, with permanent right of dismissal—of organizing the national guard, which should elect its own officers, and should be sole guardian of order."—"The unity of France" would thus be assured by the association of the "communes adherent to the contract"; each commune should be sovereign, and the communes should be united by a federal tie. This was the opposite of the *régime* upheld hitherto by the French revolutionary party, which, following the traditions of the Convention of 1792, had ordinarily favoured an all-powerful central government —that is to say, Paris directly governing France. But the theory of communal autonomy, perhaps introduced by Bakounine, harmonized with the existing situation of the Commune; in insurrection against the central government of France it asked only for the control of Paris, hoping to control France indirectly by the example Paris should give to the other communes.

This *régime* came to an end with the taking of Paris. The burnings and the massacre of the hostages perpetrated during the street fights were without authority of the Council, which had already dispersed. But the impression prevailed throughout France that the supporters of the Commune had made a systematic attempt to destroy Paris, and it seemed legitimate to treat them as criminals. This was the fiercest civil war of the century. and the suppression of the revolt was the bloodiest. Many taken with arms in their hands were shot on the spot. The official statement of the number of burials was 6500 (the true number killed is unknown). The prisoners were judged by councils of war; 7500 were sent to New Caledonia; there were 13,000 condemnations. Those in authority disregarded the French usage which distinguishes political crimes from common-law crimes; they condemned, without precise rules, some to the political punishment of transportation, others to imprisonment with hard

labour as ordinary criminals. Those who had escaped were condemned as fugitives from justice. The councils of war went on until 1876; in that year they condemned 52 persons. The revolutionary party, exhausted by this "blood-letting," was unable to make head as a party any more. There remained only two parties in the field, the Republican and the Monarchical.

Government of Thiers (1871-73).—The Assembly had been elected without limit of term. After the complementary elections of July, 1871, it was evident that a majority of the voters wished to maintain the republic. But the Assembly held the sovereign power, and there was no legal method of compelling it to relinquish it; it retained control for nearly five years (February, 1871-January, 1876). In spite of the protestations of the Left, which denied its "constituent" power, and in spite of petitions demanding its dissolution, it took upon itself the task of giving France a constitution.

It was a time of parliamentary agitation. The Assembly had no compact majority; it was divided into groups: Legitimist Extreme Right, Royalist Right, Orleanist Parliamentary Right Centre, Republican Left Centre, Republican Left, Extreme Left, besides the Imperialist party, which had been strengthened at the complementary elections. Certain independents formed small groups which wavered between the two Centres.

The government was throughout strictly parliamentary; the ministry held office only so long as it had the support of a majority in the Assembly. Public policy therefore depended always on the grouping of parties necessary in order to form a majority, and the decisive question was: Shall the grouping be of the Centres against the Extremes, or of all the Rights against all the Lefts? The two Centres had roughly the same political ideal: a liberal parliamentary government controlled by the middle class and favourable to the clergy. The Left Centre was composed chiefly of old Orleanists like Thiers, who had gone over to the Republic and universal suffrage. Between the two Centres there was hardly a point of difference except as to the form of the government.

The grouping was made in the first instance by an agreement between the two Centres against the two extremes. The Assembly, accepting provisionally the existing government, voted the law proposed by Rivet, giving to Thiers the title of President of the Republic with the powers of a parliamentary king, but making him responsible to the Assembly (August 31, 1871). The Ex-

treme Left voted against it, in order not to recognise the constituent power of the Assembly. The harmony between the Centres lasted nearly two years; it was during this period that the Assembly did its work of reorganization. It recalled the Princes of Orléans and restored to them their estates; issued loans of 2,000,000,000 in June, 1871, and 3,000,000,000 in July, 1872, for the liberation of territory; abolished the legal-tender quality of bank notes; passed the municipal and departmental laws of 1871 and the military law of 1872.

In departmental administration the Assembly established the *decentralization* which the Liberal opposition had demanded under the Empire; it increased the powers of the council general, granted it two sessions yearly, made its meetings public, and created the *departmental committee*, elected by the council, to oversee matters during the interval between sessions. The right of electing the mayors of the smaller communes was given to the municipal councils.

The first step taken in military affairs was to do away with the national guard (1871). "Of what use is it to arm everybody?" said the report. "Against whom? Against everybody, since the disturbers are not distinct in the mass of the nation." The army was made over on the Prussian plan, recruited by compulsory universal service without right of finding substitutes. It was divided, as in Prussia, into four parts: *active army, reserve, territorial army, territorial reserve*, with periodical practice. Educated young men were granted the privilege of serving *one year* as volunteers, with the obligation of finding their own equipment, as in Prussia, but with the requirement of paying the government a fixed sum for the ordinary equipment (1500 francs). None were exempted from military service but Church men, teachers, and sons of widows. The Assembly wanted a three-years' term in the active army, as in Prussia; but Thiers, who still preferred a lengthy service, compelled the acceptance of a compromise, a five-year service; and as it was impossible to maintain at once five full classes under arms, they had to resort to drawing lots in order to divide each year's contingent into two sections, the one to serve five years, the other only six months.

The Assembly increased the revenue by new taxes (on matches, paper, clubs, billiard-tables, receipts, railroad transportation), and made the budget balance, but without making any complete fiscal reform.

The government was attacked at once by the Royalist Right,

which desired to recall the King, and by the Extreme Left, which was dissatisfied with seeing the Republic managed by men who had previously been Orleanists.

The Radical opposition was almost without means of influence. The government, since the Commune, had left all the large cities in a state of siege, thus preserving the power of arbitrarily suppressing every newspaper. As long as the Assembly lasted, that is, until 1876, the press existed at the mercy of the government. The speeches of Gambetta, leader of the Extreme Left, were the main instrument of agitation. He made trips about the country demanding the dissolution of the Assembly in the name of the "sovereignty of the people." He announced "the coming into politics of a new social stratum." Thiers, who had called Gambetta's policy the policy of a raving lunatic, censured this agitation in his official capacity. He said: "The Republic will be conservative or it will cease to be." The Right showed its dissatisfaction by interpellations and by contentions in favour of the temporal power of the Pope, by pilgrimages, and by protestations against the Republic.

For a year and a half the Right Centre accepted the government of Thiers and aided it in its work of reorganization. It took part, however, in defeating the educational reform proposed by Jules Simon and in preventing the introduction of a press law which would have granted liberty to the newspapers. Little by little it detached itself from Thiers.

The disagreement had reference to domestic policy and the question of the constitution. Thiers wished to avoid a breach with the Republicans. The Right Centre reproached Thiers with not opposing energetically the agitation of the Radical party and with letting the Republic get consolidated. It demanded a "fighting government" (*un gouvernement de combat*). Thiers wished to escape from the provisional situation by getting the Assembly to vote a constitution which should establish the Republican government definitively. "It is," said he, "the system that divides us least," "the lawful government of the country"; any other would be "a new revolution." The Right Centre declared that the Bordeaux agreement had established only a "provisional government," and was meant to reserve to the Assembly the right of choosing any other form of government. The Assembly agreed to elect a committee to prepare a draft of a constitution; but in this committee of thirty the Right had a majority, and instead of drawing up a draft of a constitution it lim-

ited the powers of the President. Thiers had the practice of taking part in the debates of the Assembly, where his utterances influenced the wavering members. The committee declared against "the personal intervention of the head of the executive power in debates," and the Assembly imposed on Thiers as on a parliamentary king the formality of communicating by message, after the reading of which the sitting should be adjourned. Thiers submitted, with a protest against this "absurdity."

The rupture became public in January, 1873, by the election of a member of the Right Centre, Buffet, to the presidency of the Assembly instead of the Republican, Grévy, hitherto always re-elected since 1871. Two facts made the rupture definitive. The Radical candidate (Barodet) was elected deputy at Paris against Thiers' candidate. People drew from this the conclusion that Thiers was unable to prevent the victory of the Radicals (April 27, 1873). The ministry proposed to end the provisional situation, which it said favoured the Radical agitation; it brought forward bills for organizing the public powers with two Chambers and a President.

The rupture was completed by an order of the day inviting the President "to enforce in the government a resolutely conservative policy." This was carried by 360 votes against 344, thanks to the little Target group which abandoned the government (May 24, 1873). Thiers, instead of simply changing the ministry while retaining the executive power, a course which would have entailed a speedy dissolution, resigned his office and handed over the direction of affairs to the enemies of the Republic.

The Government of the Monarchical Parties (1873-75).—It was settled by the vote of May 24 that the grouping of the parties should come about, not by the union of the Centres, but by the union of the Extremes. The coalition of all the groups on the Right took possession of power and kept it to the end of the Assembly, in February, 1876. It elected Marshal MacMahon President, selected by the Orleanists to prepare the way for the return of monarchy; the groups of the Left took no part in the election. The ministry, like the majority, was a coalition of three parties, Orleanist, Legitimist, and Imperialist, under an Orleanist chief, the Duc de Broglie. This was a "fighting government," that announced the purpose of re-establishing "moral order," destroyed by the Radicals; it was nicknamed *Moral Order*.

On three vital questions—domestic policy, constitution, and Church policy—the coalition had a common program, at least of

the negative sort. 1st, Not to let the Republicans regain power; 2d, Not to allow the Republic to be officially established; 3d, Not to oppose the clergy. The ministry was thus united on negative measures:

First. In the case of all offices held during pleasure (prefects and sub-prefects, commissioners, inferior judges, district attorneys), it dismissed Republican office-holders and substituted Monarchists. The old office-holders of the Empire were restored to their places. In order to have complete control of the administration, the ministry obtained the adoption of the law of 1874, which gave it the power of appointing the mayors in all the communes (the law of 1871 had kept only the chief town in each canton subject to executive appointment). In order to check the Republican agitation, the government, using the state of siege, exercised strict supervision over the daily papers and forbade the sale of them in public places. It took advantage of the law which required a prefect's license for drinking saloons, by threatening to close every saloon where Republican politics were agitated. It re-established in 1874 the censorship of theatres. In the by-elections the ministry ordered civil servants to support actively the monarchical candidate and practically re-established official candidature.

Second. As regards the constitution the government prolonged the discussion of various drafts. While this was going on it had the statues of the Republic removed from the city halls; in all its official acts, and even in proclamations, it sedulously avoided the use of the word Republic.

Third. The clergy and the Catholic party had full liberty of agitation by meetings of bishops, writing in newspapers, processions, and pilgrimages. The great pilgrimage of 1873 to Paray-le-Monial, sanctuary of the Sacred Heart, under the care of the Jesuits, was a demonstration by the whole Catholic party in favour of the re-establishment of the temporal power. They dreamed of restoring simultaneously the King of France and the Pope-King of Rome. Their solemn chant was "Save Rome and France in the name of the Sacred Heart." The Assembly passed an expropriation act to permit the building on Montmartre of the Church of the Sacred Heart on the spot where St. Ignatius gathered his first followers; this to typify the taking of Paris by the Jesuits. In order to aid the soldiers in their religious duties, it established the military almoners as agents of Catholic propagandism in the regiments. The prefects opposed civil burials;

the prefect of Lyons forbade them by day. The Catholic party managed the primary schools in the communes where it controlled the municipal council. It had obtained by law in 1850 the right of carrying on secondary instruction and it now asked for the right of carrying on higher instruction. The Assembly eventually passed the act of 1875 which gave permission to found free universities, and established mixed boards of examiners for these universities.

Against the Monarchical coalition the three groups of the Left united in a hard and fast agreement to vote as one body on all party questions. The Extreme Left, led by Gambetta, gave up temporarily its own policy and subordinated itself to the Left Centre, which continued to be the controlling group to the end of the Assembly. The coalition of the Left had only a defensive policy: to save the Republic by obtaining a definitive constitution and to defend individuals against the fighting government's stretches of power. The Right aspired to protect order and society against the Radicals; the Left equally appealed to conservative sentiments by upholding the Republic, "the lawful government of the people," which only revolution could suppress.

The Right controlled steadily a small but assured majority of 20 to 30 votes on all negative questions, but it could take no positive step except by compromises with the Left.

First. In the first place it wished to establish monarchy. The old division into Legitimists and Orleanists had been closed by the *fusion;* all recognised the Legitimist king, the Count of Chambord, Henry V., head and last representative of the elder branch of the Bourbons. His successor was to be the Orleanist candidate, the Count of Paris, head of the younger branch. The fusion had been officially confirmed by the visit of the Count of Paris to the Count of Chambord at Frohsdorf, in Austria, August, 1873. During the recess of the Assembly the groups of the Right, the Imperialists holding aloof, formed a committee of nine charged to negotiate with the King the terms of restoration. On all substantial questions they were agreed: the Assembly was not to elect a King, but to declare that Henry V. had been called to the throne as head of the House of France by hereditary right. The Constitution should be, not imposed by the King, but presented by the King and voted by the Assembly, subject to the King's approval. It should guarantee, like the "Charte" of 1814, a constitutional system (annual vote of the budget, civil and religious liberties, equality before the law, etc.). But on a question

of symbol they could not agree. The Right Centre wished to announce, "the tricolour flag is maintained." The Count of Chambord had declared himself several times since 1871 in honour bound to keep the white flag, "received as a sacred deposit from the old King, his grandfather, dying in exile," and to reject the tricolour, "symbol of revolution." It was decided to postpone the decision until the restoration. The Right regarded the restoration as certain, and was already making preparations for the vote and for the King's reception, when the letter of September 27 arrived: the Count of Chambord, learning from the newspapers that people in France regarded the tricolour as definitely accepted, solemnly declared that he could not sacrifice the white flag. The Right Centre had made the tricolour a necessary condition; it now abandoned the restoration and sought to consolidate its own control by prolonging the power of the President. The Assembly conferred on MacMahon the Presidency for 7 years, (the Right Centre had proposed 10 years, the Left Centre 5). This law of the Septennate displeased the Legitimist group, who hoped still to have the recall of the King adopted—the Count of Chambord having come to Versailles November 20. It was the Left Centre that secured the passage of the Septennate in order to escape the restoration of monarchy.

Second. The Orleanist party, already in possession of the executive power through the President, attempted to gain possession of the Chambers for the future. It proposed an election law similar to that of May 31, 1850, by demanding three years' residence as a qualification for voting, and to create a Grand Council appointed by the President of the Republic. The Extreme Right, fearing an Orleanist restoration, voted with the groups of the Left and defeated the ministry, May 16, 1874. The new ministry (Cissey) was again a coalition of the three monarchical parties, but dominated by Bonapartist ministers, who governed in such way as to strengthen their own party. The by-elections enlarged the group advocating appeal to the people; there was an impression that the Imperialist party was rapidly growing, and that at a general election there would be only two parties, Republican and Imperialist (of 29 elections between May, 1873, and January, 1875, the Republicans won 23, the Imperialists 6). The Assembly unearthed a *committee of appeal to the people*, organized to manage the Imperial agitation and acting in secret harmony with the ministers (1874). Certain members of the Right Centre, strongly opposed to the Empire, made an

understanding with the Left and brought to an end the debates on the *Lois Constitutionelles*, which had dragged along for a year and a half (June, 1875). The ministry, defeated as early as January, 1875, by a coalition of the Left and the Legitimists, had remained in office two months longer.

Fourth. The agreement between the Right and the Right Centre was broken over the question of the organization of powers. The Legitimists would recognise only a personal authority in MacMahon, which he might lay aside at any moment by giving place to the legitimate king. The Right Centre held the Septennate to be independent of the person of the President; to be at once provisional and yet beyond the reach of attack. At the end of the seven years the Chamber should regain the right of dealing with the constitution; they hoped to transfer the power to the Duc d'Aumale. By the rupture the Monarchist coalition lost its power of determining at will the form of government for France. The Assembly rejected the proposition of the Left, declaring that "the government of the Republic consists of two Chambers and a President"; but as some solution was a necessity, a small group, deserting the Right Centre, joined the Left and carried, by a majority of one, the amendment offered by Wallon, which, by giving to the executive the title *President of the Republic*, recognised by implication the Republic as the definitive government of France (January 30, 1875).

Fifth. Then provision was made for a Senate. The Orleanist party was unable to carry the appointment of the Senators by the President; but it succeeded in defeating the proposition of the Left, that they should be elected by universal suffrage. It further obtained a decision that seventy-five of its members should be elected for life by the Assembly. The Left Centre proposed to the Right Centre an agreement as to the members to be elected; it asked for the Left only thirty of the seventy-five; the Right Centre was not willing to grant more than thirteen. But the Imperialist party, fearing the preponderance of the Orleanists, refused to vote for their candidates. On the second day of the voting they came to an understanding with the Left: they detached fifteen *chevaulégers* (Legitimists) from the majority by offering them seats in the Senate. This coalition succeeded in electing fifty-eight of the seventy-five senators from the Left, with nine Legitimists, against eight candidates of the Right. The Buffet ministry, formed March, 1875, by understanding between the two Centres, still held office in opposition to the Republicans.

The Constitution of 1875.—The system established by the Assembly in 1875 was the result of a compromise, as no majority could be found to support any complete constitution. To speak accurately, there is no constitution of 1875 in the sense of the previous French constitutions. We use the word, however, of the Septennate law of 1873 and the three *lois constitutionelles of* 1875 taken together, and completed by various organic laws relative to the election of senators and representatives. These must still be interpreted by means of the two laws of 1871 and 1873 which had regulated the powers of Thiers.

The whole organization is that of a constitutional monarchy on the Belgian model. The President of the Republic, elected for seven years, holds the position of a constitutional King; he has the same powers, even the right of pardon, and he is similarly forbidden to exercise any of them in person. All his public acts must be performed through ministers; he is personally irresponsible; he has the right of dissolving the Chamber, but only with the approval of the Senate.

The ministers, who exercise the real power, form, as in England, a ministry united and responsible in presence of the Chambers. That which in England is only usage, is in France written as a formal rule of the constitution, and the position of head of the council, which in England exists only as a fact, has a similar recognition. Responsibility, as in all parliamentary countries, implies the power of the Chambers, not only to judge the ministers, but to compel them to resign by a simple vote.*

As this power cannot be practically exercised by two Chambers at once it is considered as reserved exclusively for the lower house. This is the interpretation which has prevailed in France, even after the conflict of 1896. Sovereignty is thus indirectly exercised by the lower house, which controls the fate of the ministers.

The ministers are appointed by the President; the law of 1871

* The law does not explain whether the word responsible is to be taken in its old legal sense or in its new political sense. Responsibility in the old sense was enforced by the judicial process of impeachment. Political responsibility, on the other hand, is enforced by a simple vote of the representative Chamber. The Assembly of 1875 admitted at once both sorts of responsibility, but in designating both by a single word it confounded them together in one phrase: "The ministers are responsible in presence of the Chambers," using the plural, which applies well to the case where ministers are impeached by one Chamber before the other, but not to the case where they are simply defeated in the popular Chamber.

even says that they are dismissed by him; but parliamentary usage does not permit him to appoint them outside the parliamentary majority, nor to use the right of dismissal; they leave office only by resignation. As no process is indicated for determining when ministers must resign, they themselves must decide the matter. In practice, the ministers have shown themselves very respectful to the Chamber and have resigned as soon as they have been left in minority, without waiting for a vote of want of confidence.* Of the provisional scheme established for Thiers in 1871, a scrap has been preserved which is contrary to the usage of parliamentary countries, namely, the right of the President of the Republic to preside in the Council of Ministers.*

The legislative power in its most extended sense, including the right to vote war, peace, treaties, to interpellate the ministers, the right of inquest, the right of initiative for every member, is shared by two assemblies: a Chamber of Deputies, elected by universal suffrage, and renewed as a body every four years; a Senate of 300 members, one-fourth elected for life by the Assembly, vacancies in the list of life members to be filled by the Senate itself; three-fourths to consist of members elected for nine years by electoral colleges in the departments. In these colleges delegates from the municipal councils, one for each commune, were the preponderating element.†

The Right Centre, in giving up the appointment of senators by the President, had insisted on equal representation of all the communes in the electoral colleges, in order to insure the predominance of the little country communes. The law attributes exactly the same powers to the two Chambers, except that the budget must be voted in the first instance by the Chamber, and the Senate has the right of voting the dissolution of the Chamber on the request of the President; also the right to sit as a court of justice for trial of political offenders. The Chambers have a legal right to one session of five months yearly; the President

*The French ministers meet for confidential conference in *conseil du cabinet*, without the presence of the President of the Republic; but for formal action as a *conseil des ministres* they need the President of the Republic in the chair. The two forms of meeting are not essentially different from the two forms of meeting used by the English Ministers; first, when they meet for consultation as a Cabinet without the sovereign; and, secondly, when they meet for formal action as a Privy Council, in presence of the sovereign. The meeting for formal action is in both countries recognised by the law. See ESMEIN, *Droit Constitutionel*, p. 615.—TR.

† The senatorial elections were materially changed in 1884 (see p. 209).

may adjourn them for the rest of the year, and during their recess he stands alone. The right of setting up a permanent committee by his side was abandoned.

The meeting of the two Chambers constitutes the National Assembly, which alone is sovereign. This elects the President and has the power of revising the constitution; but the revision can be undertaken only after a *separate* vote of each Chamber agreeing to hold the joint meeting.

The Council of State is simply a body of officers designated by the government.

Of the English Parliamentary system, the French have thus preserved the three powers, the irresponsible sovereign, the united and responsible ministry, the right of dissolution and the two houses; but to these they have added democratic innovations: 1st, The sovereign is elected, and for a limited term: he has not the full power of dissolution. 2d, The upper house is elected and is not confined to the mere passage of bills. 3d, The lower house is elected by universal suffrage. 4th, The members of the houses receive pay for their services, and the senatorial electors receive travelling expenses. This is a compromise between the English Parliamentary monarchy and the democratic system adopted for France by the Convention (1793). In practice it has leaned more to the democratic system. The Chamber, elected by universal suffrage, has become the dominant power, because it controls the ministry. The President has confined his personal rôle to representing the government on ceremonial occasions, to designating the head of each ministry, and to presiding at the Council of Ministers. The Senate has made little use of its right of initiative; it has rarely proposed laws, and has confined itself to a right of veto on bills proposed by the Chamber. It has adopted the practice of accepting, without serious changes, the budget prepared by the Chamber, contenting itself with preventing the suppression of public services by mere action on the budget. Thus has been established the political constitution which France had vainly been striving for since 1789. There are now recognised in France principles of government which no party any longer contests: the sovereignty of the nation exercised through the Chamber, universal suffrage, liberty of the press, trial by jury, and right of public meeting. Under this political constitution the social organization created by the Revolution, and the administrative system created by Napoleon are both preserved.

Struggle between the President and the Chamber (1876-79).—President MacMahon, elected by the Monarchist Right, thought himself bound in honour to govern according to the ideas of the Right. The Chamber, elected by universal suffrage, had a large majority of Republicans,—360 against 170,—the Senate, elected before the Chamber, by the electoral colleges of the departments, in which the municipal councils of the country communes had the control, was at first about equally divided (thanks to the Republican majority of life senators elected by the Assembly); later the Right had a majority of a few votes. The grouping of the parties, formed in 1873 on the question of the Republic, continued; but the parties had changed their attitude. The Republican party, divided into three groups,—Left Centre, Republican Left (most numerous), and Radical Left,—took the offensive to compel the President to adopt a Republican policy. The old monarchical party, now become the *conservative* party, was thrown on the defensive. It was in three groups: Right, Right Centre, and Popular Appeal (the Extreme Right had disappeared). Unable now to dispute the constitution, these groups sought, in the name of the interests of society, to keep conservative office-holders in their places—the thing called "the Republic without Republicans."

The question of the constitution being finally settled, the contest turned on the possession of power, the guarantees of public liberty, and the policy toward the Church. The Left began by asking for a Republican ministry. MacMahon accepted a ministry of the Left Centre (Dufaure in March, 1876, and later in the year Jules Simon); but he held three ministerial offices—War, Navy, and Foreign Affairs—to be outside of politics.

As to the civil services, the Left demanded a purge, that is to say, the dismissal of office-holders openly hostile to the Republic. The ministry effected this more or less completely.

In order to establish freedom of elections the Chamber condemned official candidatures by systematically refusing to admit deputies elected by the help of the office-holders or the clergy. It re-established freedom of the press and the right to sell newspapers in public. It passed the Act of 1876, which restored to the municipal councils, except in the case of the chief town of each canton, the right of electing the mayor. The clergy had canvassed against the Republicans; the Left declared itself opposed to the influence of the clergy. The ministry prepared bills to exclude members of religious orders from teaching in the primary schools and to withdraw from the Catholic universities the

right of preparing students for the state examinations. The Chamber refused to vote money for the military almoners (see p. 198). The Catholic party drew up a petition to the President of the Republic, asking him to support the Pope against Italy, with the object of re-establishing the temporal power. The Chamber replied by a resolution against the ultramontane agitation (May 4, 1877). This was the occasion of the rupture with the President.

MacMahon, while accepting Republican ministers, continued to consult his political friends, his former ministers, leaders of the Conservative party. They persuaded him to rid himself of the Republican Chamber before the autumn municipal elections, upon the outcome of which depended the approaching renewal of the Senate. MacMahon dismissed the Simon ministry (May 16), took a Conservative ministry (Broglie-Fourtou), adjourned the Chamber for a month, then dissolved it with the consent of the Senate.

May 16 meant political war between the President and Senate on the one hand, and the Republican power, the Chamber, on the other. The constitution placed the Chamber and the ministry at the discretion of the President and Senate, and the Conservative party took advantage of this to regain power. In order to keep office as long as possible the ministry extended by three weeks the period within which the constitution required the electors to meet, and thus got for itself five months of power. It used these five months in preparing for the elections; it changed at a stroke the whole administrative body, and appointed new "fighting officials"; it embarrassed by prohibitions or prosecutions the sale of Republican journals, political meetings, and agitation for the Republic; it suspended Republican municipal councils, substituting for them municipal commissioners. At the elections it presented official candidates, indorsed by the President of the Republic, and published Presidential manifestoes to the French people. In these MacMahon, abandoning his rôle of the irresponsible sovereign, assumed officially a position opposed to the Republicans and announced his purpose "to fight it out to the last," even against the will of the voters. The clergy supported the official candidates, and preached against the Republicans.

The Left, thrown on the defensive anew, forgot its differences and drew together as a homogeneous party. All the deputies who supported the vote of May 16 (the 363) presented themselves

with a common platform. The Republican senators chose a committee for common action. Their cue was to pose as conservatives, as defenders of the Republic against the revolutionary coalition of monarchists and clergy—as defenders of the sovereignty of the people against the personal power of the President. Gambetta launched two famous phrases: "Our foe is clericalism" (Le cléricalisme voilà l'ennemi), "When the country shall have spoken, he must either submit or resign" (Quand le pays aura parlé, il faudra se soumettre ou se démettre). The Republicans also used with the voters the fear of war with Italy, urged by the Catholic supporters of the temporal power.

The elections of October, 1877, returned about 330 Republicans against 210 Conservatives. The ministry resigned. The Conservative party hesitated as to its future course. The President tried a "business ministry" (Rochebouet), chosen outside of the Chambers, but within the Conservative party. The Chamber declined to recognise this ministry (November 24). The Senate did not dare to approve a second dissolution; the budget had not been voted and, in order to do without the Chamber, it would have been necessary to levy taxes without legal authority, and to use force against citizens who should resist. There were Conservatives ready to form a ministry with this program, but MacMahon would have no *coup d'état*, preferring to submit. He formed a ministry of the Left Centre, wholly Republican (December, 1877). This was the final overthrow of the Conservative party.

The Republicans resumed power. The ministry restored the office-holders dismissed by the ministry of May 16, and the Chamber quashed more than 50 elections made under administrative or clerical pressure. The elections to fill these vacancies brought up the number of Republicans to 370. The party was still united; the exposition of 1878 was distracting attention from politics. Gambetta advised the Radicals to cultivate union, discipline, and patience, saying that they must settle questions one by one (December, 1878). Finally, at the renewal of one-third of the Senate, the Republicans acquired a strong majority in that body (178 against 126). MacMahon, isolated and reluctant to make certain army appointments asked for by his Republican ministers, handed in his resignation and was followed by a Radical, Grévy (January, 1879). The Republicans thus acquired, and have retained, control of the three organs of political power.

Supremacy and Changes of the Republican Party (1879-84).—

The Republicans, united for defence, fell apart again when it came to governing. The Left Centre had had the power because it could get on with MacMahon, but it was weak with the electors. From this time forward it was only an insignificant group in the Chamber. Its strength lay in the Senate, where, by uniting with the Right, it formed until 1882 a Catholic majority, which defeated the measures of the Chamber against the clergy. In the Chamber the majority belonged to two groups, the Republican Left and the former Extreme Left (Gambetta's party, now become the Republican Union). But a new Extreme Left was formed, which reproached Gambetta and his followers with abandoning Radical principles for a policy of opportunism. The majority began by ousting the Dufaure ministry (Left Centre) because it refused to dismiss all Monarchists from office. Power passed to the Left, which formed several ministries in succession, each made up more largely from the Extreme Left than its predecessor (Waddington, January, 1880; Freycinet, December, 1880; Ferry, 1881).

The government carried the transfer of the Chambers from Versailles to Paris (June, 1880) and the institution of the National Festival of July 14. It announced a series of projects: some to realize a part of the old radical program: freedom of the press and of public meeting, universal election of the mayors by the municipal councils, purchase of all railways by the State, and above all free and compulsory primary education by lay teachers. Other measures were directed against the Catholic party: to withdraw the corporate quality from bishoprics, to suppress Church cemeteries, to abolish the military almoners, to deprive the Catholic universities of the name "university" and the right of presenting for degrees. In proposing the bill regulating higher education, the Minister of Instruction (Ferry) added the famous *Article 7*, which forbade members of unauthorized religious orders to take part in secondary education—the object being to destroy the Jesuit colleges.

The positive measures encountered the passive resistance of the Senate, where the Left Centre, in alliance with the Conservatives, defeated the bills passed by the Chamber. It accepted only the bill relating to the Catholic universities, without Article 7 (March, 1880). The government replied by issuing decrees which called out of abeyance certain old unrepealed laws against "unauthorized congregations," and ordered all such bodies to disperse. The congregations refused to obey, and the govern-

ment expelled them by force. This was the final breach between the Republic and the Catholic clergy.

The resistance of the Right grew weaker with the progress of time; the government bills were eventually passed, some of them bit by bit: the law as to election of the mayors in 1882, that making the sessions of municipal councils public in 1884. Primary education was regulated by a series of acts passed between 1881 and 1886: the act making education gratuitous in 1881, that making it compulsory and by lay teachers in 1882. Secondary education for girls had been regulated by an act of 1880. A law of 1881 established complete freedom of the press, without restrictions in the form of money deposit, license, or stamp duty, and with jury trial for all press offences; this was the system demanded by the Radical party. Complete liberty of public meeting was established, but not liberty of political clubs. In 1884 the law on professional *syndicates* at last secured to workingmen the right to found societies like the English trade unions.

At the same time the ministers were struggling against the Extreme Left in its demands for the dismissal of non-Republican judges, for amnesty for the Communards, and for amendment of the constitution. But this opposition grew steadily stronger; the ministers yielded little by little. In 1880 they voted the amnesty (preceded by individual pardons *) which permitted the return to France of proscribed Communists and gave the revolutionary Socialists a chance to organize themselves as a party once more. In 1882 the dismissal of judges was brought about by a law which suspended the irremovability of judges for six months, and thus allowed the government to retire Conservative magistrates. Then the government proposed a partial revision of the constitution, to which the Senate eventually agreed (1884). The 75 life senatorships were to be abolished: as vacancies should occur in the list they were to be filled by the election of ordinary senators, with nine-year terms—the election to be by the departments. The number of senatorial electors in each department was increased by assigning to each municipal council a number of delegates varying from 1 to 24, according to the population of the commune. This diminished the inequality of representation in these elections. It still left, however, an advantage in the hands of the rural communes.

* According to French practice, executive pardon (*grace*) simply remits the active punishment of the offender, without restoring him to his rights as a citizen. For this latter a legislative act of amnesty is necessary.—Tr.

After the elections of 1881 the Chamber had 457 Republicans against 88 Conservatives. In the Senate, after the renewal of 1882, there were 205 Republicans (30 belonging to the Left Centre) against 95 Conservatives. The Conservative party gave up the political contest.* The Republican party underwent a change, the majority joining the Republican Union. Gambetta, leader of the majority, agreed to take charge of the government and formed "the great ministry," which had been long expected as the incarnation of the Republican party (November, 1881). But instead of inviting all the chiefs of the Left to join him, Gambetta formed his ministry of men of his own group exclusively. He then proposed to amend the constitutional laws by inserting a clause requiring the Chamber to be elected by *general ticket;* the electoral system had been kept out of the constitution in order that it might be modified at any time by ordinary law. The Republican party divided. The Extreme Left had long upbraided Gambetta for his opportunist policy (he had, during the campaign of 1881, made a violent attack upon his adversaries, in his district of Belleville). The Left reproached him with his kingly airs,—referring to his triumphal entry into his native town, Cahors,—with his authoritative language (his "speech from the throne" to the Chamber), and his tendency to surround himself with his personal devotees. The malcontents joined forces against him and defeated his revision scheme of general ticket by a large majority. Gambetta resigned, having lost his popularity in three months (January, 1882); he died in December, 1882, without having regained it.

Once more the government fell into the hands of ministries of the Left supported by the Republican Union: Freycinet, then Duclerc, and lastly Ferry, the longest-lived ministry of the Parliamentary Republic (February, 1883, to May, 1885). The Radical party on attaining power had abandoned its great reforms. Instead of the election of judges (voted as one of its principles in 1883) it limited itself to a purging process. Instead of state purchase of railroads it made "deals" with the large companies (1883). It abandoned the income tax which it had demanded in 1874. Of its former platform it preserved only the

*Since the death of the Prince Imperial, killed by the Zulus in 1879, the Imperialists had been divided: the supporters of the direct heir, Prince Jerome, and the supporters of his son Prince Victor, the latter being favoured by the Empress and the Catholics.

reform of primary instruction (accomplished in 1886), and the reform of the military service, which the Senate rejected. It concentrated its efforts on its colonial policy. It strove to give France once more an empire outside of Europe (Tunis, Soudan, Congo, Tonquin, and Annam) in order to open up markets for French commerce.

Division of the Republican Party and Reconstitution of the Conservative Party (1884-87).—The Republican party at last broke into two hostile factions. The Left and the Republican Union formed the Republican party, supporting the government. They were known as the *Opportunists*. The Extreme Left, taking the old name, formerly common to all Republicans, became the *Radical* party. The two parties were divided by personal rivalries rather than by a difference in principles. The Radicals were those who, having taken no part in Gambetta's personal following and having opposed Ferry's colonial policy, had been shut out of the government. But in resuming the portions of the old Radical platform which the Republicans had dropped when they attained power, the Radicals gave themselves a "fighting platform." They demanded revision of the constitution in order to deprive the Senate of the right of voting the budget and dissolving the Chamber; the separation of Church and State, and the abolition of the Concordat, now defended by the Opportunists; reform of the fiscal system by an income tax; war on the large companies. (Nothing more was heard of the election of judges nor of the suppression of standing armies, inscribed in Gambetta's program of 1869.) The Radicals added the giving up of colonial expeditions.

The two parties were agreed regarding divorce (which was made lawful in 1884), on the general-ticket system (established by law in 1885 *), and on the three-year military service with the abolition of drawing lots, of the one-year volunteer privilege and of exemptions for teachers and clergymen. The military law, however, was delayed by the Senate and was not carried until 1889.

The main point of dispute was Tonquin. Ferry declared war

* The *loi sur le scrutin de liste* of 1885 required each department to elect its deputies by general vote of the whole department. Seven departments had ten or more deputies; the Nord had twenty, the Seine thirty-eight. France has changed her system six times since 1848: 1848, general ticket; 1852, single-member districts; 1871, general ticket; 1875, single-member districts; 1885, general ticket; 1889, single-member districts.—Tr.

on the Radicals by saying: "Our danger is on the left." The Radicals profited by the panic caused by the exaggerated news of a defeat in Tonquin to induce the Chamber to vote against the Ferry ministry (May, 1885). This was the last ministry supported by a compact majority. Until 1889 there were no more coalition ministries.

The Left, during its rule, had abandoned the financial policy of the Conservative party: balanced budgets, gradual liquidation of the debt, and economy in expenditure. For the new railroads (the Freycinet scheme), school buildings, and colonial expeditions, it had incurred outlays which increased the debt and caused a yearly deficit. People were accustomed to see the budget estimates exceeded by the actual revenue; the commercial crisis which began in 1882, after the crash of the General Union, brought a contrary result. The bad state of the finances furnished an additional argument against the Opportunists.

In the electoral campaign of 1885 the government had against it two oppositions: the Radical Left, whose leader was Clémenceau, and the Conservative and Catholic Right which, without attacking the Republic, avowed itself in opposition to the constitution. Since the death of the Count of Chambord in 1883 the Legitimists had united with the Orleanist party, except a small group of irreconcilables, who transferred their homage to the Spanish branch of the Bourbons. From both sides the Opportunists were censured for the Tonquin war, the deficit, and the commercial crisis.

These were the conditions under which the general election of October, 1885, was held, the first by general ticket since 1871. Republican candidates were presented on two rival tickets, Republican and Radical, which divided the party votes and prevented their getting majorities. The Conservatives presented themselves as a single party. The general-ticket system was advantageous to the Conservatives, their voters being distributed in more compact groups. The government lost seats. At the regular elections more Conservatives than Republicans were successful. At the subsequent elections, in the cases where no candidate had received a majority at the first balloting, the alarmed Republicans restored party discipline, all voting for a combined ticket made up of those candidates that polled the largest vote at the first ballot. The Chamber was composed of 382 Republicans and 202 Conservatives (reduced to 180 by the quashing of elections). A new generation of Conservatives had just entered

political life with a negative program of Liberal opposition. The division was almost wholly local; the whole east and south had elected Republicans, the west and north Conservatives. The Republican party, divided into two nearly equal sets, Opportunist and Radical, had for practical purposes no majority. In order to rule, two lines of policy were attempted. The one consisted in combining the two sets of Republicans against the Right; this was the "policy of Republican concentration," formulated even before the elections by the Brisson ministry, which had followed Ferry. This policy was adopted by the first ministries after the elections (Freycinet, January, 1886; Goblet, December, 1886). The other policy consisted in getting the Conservatives to support the ministerial Republicans against the Radicals; this was the "policy of conciliation," so named because it implied an end of the war upon the Conservatives and the clergy. It was tried by the Rouvier ministry (May, 1887) and given up after the resignation of Grévy (December, 1887).

The concentration ministry demanded the expulsion of the "pretenders." The Chamber had refused this in 1883, but voted it in 1886. The object was to strike at the Count of Paris, who was accused of having posed as a sovereign at the marriage of his daughter.

The ministers, aiming to retain office, abandoned all schemes of positive reform. Their program was limited to settling up the colonial enterprises (the Tonquin appropriations had been carried by a majority of only a few votes) and to restoring the balance in the budget. The Chamber overturned the Goblet ministry for not having proposed sufficient reductions of expense (May, 1887).

The Boulanger Crisis (1887-89).—The Radicals had allied themselves, against Ferry, with the *patriots*, who disliked colonial expeditions because they diverted France from the war of revenge against Germany. They insisted on a cabinet position for General Boulanger (January, 1886), who, on becoming minister of war, made himself notorious by his democratic utterances. The Opportunists, on their return to power (May, 1886), dismissed Boulanger from his office; the Radicals supported him. His name became so celebrated that a personal party formed itself around him, the nucleus of it being the *Patriotic League* and a little group of Radical deputies.

Presently came the scandal of the decorations. Wilson, the President's son-in-law, was accused of selling places in the

Legion of Honour. Grévy defended his son-in-law. The Chamber censured the ministry and demanded the retirement of the President. Grévy attempted to obtain a Radical ministry, but nobody was willing to form a ministry with Boulanger, or dared to form one without him. Grévy, unable to find ministers, at length yielded to the necessity of resigning (December, 1887). The Opportunists, having (thanks to the Senate) a majority in the joint meeting of the Chambers, wished to elect Ferry to the Presidency; but the Municipal Council of Paris declared that it could not answer for public order if Ferry were elected. The Conservatives, remembering Article 7 against Ferry, cast their votes for General Saussier; Ferry failed of a majority on the first ballot; and on the second, Carnot, a moderate Republican who was acceptable to the Radicals, was duly elected.

Carnot's ministers (Tirard, December, 1887, defeated on the question of Revision, and Floquet, Radical, April, 1887) reverted to the policy of Republican concentration, but they had to contend with the new Boulanger party.

The Boulangists no longer fought the Opportunists alone; they had quarrelled with the Radicals also, and aimed to suppress the Parliamentary system itself, which they reproached with weakness and corruption. The party had no positive policy; its program was summarized in three words by Boulanger: Dissolution, Revision, Constituent Assembly (*Constituante*). That is to say, they would dissolve the existing chambers and elect an assembly which should establish a republican but non-parliamentary government, with a single Chamber and an executive independent of the legislature (substantially the Constitution of '48). Above all General Boulanger must be placed in power; the rest would come of itself. All patriotic Frenchmen were appealed to, including Conservatives and Catholics, to join in establishing "the open republic." The party took the name of *Revisionist* or *National.* It adopted a novel plan of campaign, based on the *scrutin de liste:* wherever a vacancy was to be filled in the representation of a department, it nominated General Boulanger for the seat and was thus obtaining a little plebiscite in his favour. The plan was begun in 1888 and was carried out systematically.

The Catholic Conservatives, opposed to Boulanger up to that time on account of his radical utterances, joined the Revisionists in order to destroy the constitution. They used Boulanger to make a breach in the Republic. The electoral campaign conducted by the Boulanger committee with money supplied by Con-

servatives (the Count of Paris and the Duchess d'Uzès) was promoted by advertising devices similar to those used in commerce: reams of posters, portraits, and biographies of General Boulanger, songs in his praise, crowds hired to shout "*Vive le général Boulanger!*"

In presence of this coalition, Republicans of all shades, including the Socialists, joined hands to oppose the threatened dictatorship. Boulanger was very badly received on his appearance in the Chamber, and, abandoning the parliamentary field, devoted himself to running elections. He had no success in the Republican strongholds of the east and south; but he was repeatedly elected, with large majorities, in the Conservative or doubtful departments of the north and midland. He was elected by 240,000 votes against 165,000 in Paris, where the Radicals supported him through dislike of the ministry (January, 1889). This success was his ruin.* His tactics depended on the general-ticket system, which made the vote of a whole department necessary to fill every casual vacancy in the Chamber, and thus made possible a kind of general plebiscite in his favour, since such vacancies were of quite frequent occurrence. Further, at the approaching general election, the system would make it possible for him to unite his Conservative and Radical supporters in each department by giving each set a share in his general ticket. Boulanger had the imprudence to display his hand in advance and thus forewarned his adversaries. The *scrutin de liste,* it is true, had been a sort of fad, held both by Opportunists and Radicals; but the Republicans made up their minds to sacrifice it, and, in spite of the Conservatives, who were now in favour of it, they passed a law, in February, 1889, restoring the system of single member districts (*scrutin uninominal*). They also took the further precaution of making it unlawful for any person to present himself as a candidate in more than one district.

The Radical party, weakened by the secession of the Boulangists and by the recollection of Boulanger's alliance with them, yielded place to the Opportunists who had always opposed him. The Floquet ministry, left in a minority on the question of revision, was followed by the Tirard-Constans ministry (February, 1889), which got rid of Boulanger by ordering him to

* I say nothing as to his chances of success by an appeal to force against the government at Paris, where the swarms of police seem to have been favourable to him. No arrangements for such a stroke had been made by him.

appear before the Senate, constituted as a high court for the trial of offences against the safety of the state. Boulanger retired to Belgium without making a defence, and at once ceased to be of political importance. Later in the year the great Exposition of 1889 produced a calm in politics.

At the general election of 1889 the contest was between the Republicans of all shades on the one hand and the coalition of the enemies of the Parliamentary Republic on the other. The Revisionists wanted a different sort of republic, and the Conservatives and clergy wanted no republic at all. The Parliamentary Republicans made a defensive and conservative compaign, defending the existing constitution against the Revisionists, and the laws as to schools and the military service against the Catholics.

The Republicans carried 366 seats, against 172 carried by the Conservatives and 38 by the Revisionists. The Conservatives came from the north and west; the Revisionists from the Seine and various scattered constituencies. The coalition of the enemies of the Parliamentary Republic fell to pieces. The Revisionists, beaten at the municipal elections of Paris (April, 1890), ended by disbanding themselves on the suicide of Boulanger.

Transformation of the Extreme Parties.—The Republican majority elected in 1889, on a negative platform, had little beyond a policy of stand-still: to keep up the school law and the military law, attacked by the Conservatives, and to give quiet to the country after its political excitements. In four years the Chamber passed only certain commercial laws and a tariff (1892) which restored the protective system. Napoleon in 1860 had inaugurated the system of commercial treaties aiming at a gradual introduction of free trade; the Chamber refused to renew these treaties as they expired, and returned to the plan of an independent tariff, with the right of lowering or raising the duties at will. The coalition of the great manufacturers with the agricultural group, who asked for protective duties on grains and cattle, secured the adoption of a complicated scale of duties, some of them so high as to seem prohibitory. The act established two tariffs: a *maximum* tariff to be levied on the products of countries having no reciprocity treaty with France, and a *minimum* tariff to be accorded by such treaties. In practice most countries have obtained the minimum tariff; and it has even been necessary to go below this minimum in the case of Switzerland, in order to preserve friendly commercial relations with her.

The strife between the two wings of the Republican party, stilled by the common danger of 1889, did not break out again with much energy. The official policy continued to be Republican concentration. The ministerial Republicans, known also as *Moderates*, had a majority of the Chamber, furnished the ministers, and held the power. The Radicals, reduced to a small minority, clung to the wrecks of their program (Constitutional Revision, Income Tax, and Separation of Church and State), without the least chance of carrying a single point.

But in the extreme parties a change was preparing. A small Socialist party of workingmen had arisen again since 1879, from the amnestied Communists; but it had remained a little doctrinal church without political activity, and had been divided, since 1882, into two hostile sects. The Marxist group, the least numerous, chiefly in the north, adhered to the German collectivist ideas, and had a centralized organization. The other group, the "French Federation of Social-Revolutionist Workingmen," declared its willingness to work for one thing at a time, in order to make its whole program possible. It had a federal organization, leaving each local branch to govern itself. It was nicknamed *Possible-ist* by its opponents. It broke into two factions (1890) on a constitutional question as to the powers of its central organs. The remnants of the Blanc Socialists formed another small party; so that there were four Socialist parties in the field. Their agitation was still confined to the workingmen of the large cities and the mining districts, and their activity was chiefly directed to the municipal elections of Paris. In the Chamber a small group, called the Workingmen's party, had dwindled to a few revolutionary deputies without a definite program. In 1893, in prospect of the general election, all the Socialist factions joined in a league for bringing in the "Social Republic." The league was joined by the discontented Radicals, who had formed the main body of the Revision party. In order to win over the peasants, the Socialist congress of 1892 had adopted a program of agrarian reforms; and the party no longer demanded the suppression of private property in land, so far as regards peasant farms.

At the same time the Conservative party was splitting up. The Count of Paris, against the view of the older Orleanists, had joined in the cry for Revision (1888), and was acting "parallel" with the Boulangists. Abandoning the ground of traditional royalty, he had declared that the monarchy must be re-established

by popular vote—the principle of the Imperialists. Henceforth all the monarchist parties were supporters of the revolutionary doctrine of popular sovereignty. This development displeased both the old Legitimists and the old Orleanists; but a new generation of Conservatives were displacing them.

The great Conservative party, discouraged by the reverse of 1889, gave up hope of restoring monarchy and reverted to the policy of constitutional opposition. It no longer attacked the form of government, taking care, however, not to recognise it openly. It simply opposed the ministers and their policy. Some of the party eventually adopted the plan of publicly accepting the Republic in order to conciliate Republican voters. The movement was hastened by the Pope, who urged Catholics to accept the Republic definitively, and try to control it in the interest of religion. This policy, officially avowed in 1892, was expressed in a phrase attributed to Leo XIII., in a private interview, "to accept the constitution in order to modify legislation" (referring especially to changes of the school and military laws). Thus, by dismemberment of the Conservative party, the Catholic party of the *Rallied* was formed.

This evolution gave new life to the policy of conciliation between the Conservative Right and the Republican Centre. In 1893, before the general election, the ministerial Republicans (Moderates) disclosed a willingness to coalesce with the *Rallies* and declared themselves unalterably opposed to the Socialists by closing the Labour Exchange of Paris. The reconciliation in the Assembly was an easy matter: the Right, resigning themselves to the school and military laws, demanded only a conservative policy in social matters; but among the voters the case was different, for the Republican voters bore a grudge against the old Conservative leaders who had tried to overturn the Republic in 1889.

The Conservatives, in preparing for the electoral campaign of 1893, started the Panama scandal, which, greatly exaggerated by the press, opened an era of denunciations, violent controversies, and trials for libel. The leaders of both wings of the Republican party, Moderate and Radical, were, as a result, badly compromised, being suspected of having themselves taken part in the financial "deals" of the Panama Company, or of having neglected to prosecute those guilty of them. The old leaders were pushed aside and replaced by a new set.

New Division of Parties.—The new Chamber elected in 1893

disclosed these transformations. One half of the deputies were new men. The tactics of the Right had failed; only 30 *Ralliés* and 60 other Conservatives had been elected. The Republican majority continued to be divided into Moderates and Radicals—the latter counting from 120 to 155 members. On the extreme Left the Socialist Union, having drawn together the disorganized voters of the old Revision party, had carried 55 seats. For the first time there was a parliamentary body of Socialists sufficiently large to influence politics. On the whole the centre of gravity had shifted toward the Left.

The Conservatives being now practically out of the field, the Republicans had again to choose between *concentration* of Moderates and Radicals against the two extremes (Conservatives and Socialists) and a homogeneous ministry made up wholly of Moderates or wholly of Radicals. Concentration would give an enormous majority, but it would impose a passive policy, for the Moderates had exhausted their own program of reforms and favoured no part of the Radical program. A homogeneous ministry was advocated by the theorizers among the Moderates, as harmonizing with Parliamentary government; but the Moderates alone could hope to supply such a ministry, and it was doubtful if they could give it a majority without help from some part of the Right—which would have spoiled the homogeneity, and would have been a return to conciliation, a difficult thing after the electoral campaign of 1893.

According to official utterances, the policy of all ministries from 1889 to 1893 was one of concentration; that is to say, a majority of each were Moderates, following a policy of conservation accompanied by democratic declarations. Since those years normal political life has been disturbed by the crimes of the Anarchists. These were too few in number to form a regular party, and refrained on principle from parliamentary action, refusing to formulate a positive program. Their aim, they said, was to free the individual by destroying society. But by adopting the methods of the Russian terrorists, especially in the use of explosives, they gave themselves a prominence wholly out of proportion to their importance. "Propagandism by facts," already tried in 1892, assumed political significance when the Anarchists attacked the organs of the State, first the Chamber and later the President. The public powers defended themselves by two special laws, the one after the explosion in the Chamber, December, 1893, and the other after the assassination of Carnot,

June, 1894; Anarchist journals were suppressed, their propaganda and their crimes were stopped. But during this crisis concentration had fared badly; the Radicals had opposed the ministers in the passage of the exceptional laws, accusing them of confounding the Socialists with the Anarchists. At the election of Carnot's successor, each wing of the Republicans presented a candidate of its own. Casimir Perier, the Moderate candidate, was elected by a large majority over the Radical Brisson; he received nearly all the votes of the senators.

A personal quarrel broke out between the Socialists and the new President. Casimir Perier, by his name and fortune, seemed to symbolize the domination of the *bourgeoisie*. In the Chamber the Moderates and the Radicals began to oppose each other squarely. About a hundred deputies, undecided between the two, were ready to support any ministry, but anxious to avoid displeasing their constituents by an unpopular vote. This wavering group placed three Moderate ministries in minority (Casimir Perier, April, 1894; Dupuy, January, 1895; Ribot, October, 1895) on certain railroad questions. At the fall of the second, Casimir Perier resigned the Presidency. He was followed by Félix Faure, elected by a coalition of the Moderates and the Right; but the vote for Brisson was larger than at the previous election; and the candidate who represented the opposition to the Radicals, Waldeck-Rousseau, was dropped. The third ministry, Ribot's, reverted to Republican concentration, carried an amnesty law in order to soothe the Socialists, and even presented a measure founded on the Radical doctrine of progressive taxation (progressive tax on inheritances). The wavering members were joining the Radicals; Brisson was elected President of the Chamber.

The third Moderate ministry was succeeded by a cabinet having for the first time a Radical chief, Léon Bourgeois. The new premier wished to form a concentration cabinet, but with a reform policy; but finding no Moderates willing to join him, he was under the necessity of making it purely Radical. Of the old Radical program he kept only a single point,—the progressive income tax,—coupling with it a series of economic "reforms" of the democratic sort. He promised also to bring light to bear on the financial affairs as to which recent Moderate ministries were suspected of irregularities.

On this program, a new disposition of the extremes came about. The Right joined the Moderates in resisting the income

tax, thus forming a party of social conservatism resting on the *bourgeoisie*, the clergy, and the office-holders. The Socialists joined the political Radicals, forming a party of Social Reform, and appealing to the masses. The old local division was still observable, in that the Conservatives drew their chief strength from the west and the Social Reformers from the south.

By winning over the crowd of wavering members, the Radicals gained a majority in the Chamber for their progressive income tax (1896). The Senate, by attacking the ministry, raised a conflict between the two houses which revived the agitation for revision.

By rejecting certain appropriation bills, the Senate compelled a resignation of the Bourgeois ministry and the formation of a homogeneous ministry of Moderates (Méline, April, 1896) which, by the help of the Right, obtained a majority. But no party has a safe majority in the Assembly. By a phenomenon new in France, the policy of each party is dictated by its central, or less extreme, wing. The Right has abandoned its agitation for the repeal of the laws unfavourable to the clergy, and demands only resistance to further disturbance of existing society. The Socialists, at the other extreme, have dropped their revolutionary schemes, consenting to co-operate with the political Radicals in carrying a partial reform of society and in procuring a revision of the constitution by lawful means. For the first time since 1814 there are in France only *political* parties: no party avows a policy of subverting the Republic.

Political Evolution of France in the Nineteenth Century.—At first glance the political history of France during the past century seems an incoherent series of revolutions; hence the general opinion of other countries that the French are capricious in politics, and do not know what they want. Precisely the same was said of the English at the end of the seventeenth century.*

There is, however, a point of view from which these unaccountable revolutions present the appearance of an entirely intelligible development. The French nation at the end of the eighteenth century was still monarchical, but already democratic and free from clerical authority, at least in the east and south, where the people are most democratic, peasant proprietors are most numerous, and great landowners least influential. From this mass of

* A nation whose "fickleness" is notorious; they change their ideas frequently, said Torcy.

democratic monarchists a small revolutionary party branched off in 1792, in the contest with the King and court, becoming Republican almost against its will, but resolved to acquire the reins of power, by force if need be. From 1792 to 1870 this Republican party seized the government four times, in each case by the same process, a sudden stroke at Paris; but, being only a minority, it did not succeed in establishing itself firmly. The monarchical majority presently found means of restoring monarchy. Thus every Republican revolution was followed by a royalist restoration which lasted until a new generation gave the Republican leaders enough recruits to make a new revolution. But each revolution did away with some feature of the former system which could not be restored. Four times has this oscillation taken place.

First. The revolutionary party gained control at Paris by the 10th of August, 1792; and kept it until imperialism was set up by Bonaparte, who ousted the Republican rulers, without, however, re-establishing the traditional monarchy. The restoration of 1814, brought about by an accident of foreign policy, was but a partial one: it retained the social democratic organization created by the Revolution and the centralized administrative organization left by Napoleon. Upon this democratic society and this bureaucratic administration, it superimposed a political mechanism royalist in form, imported from England. The revolution of the Hundred Days was only an abortive attempt, the last episode in Napoleon's contest with Europe, the first of the military revolutions that followed the general pacification of 1814. It had, however, an influence on the political development by uniting the remnants of the revolutionary Republicans with the discontented Imperialists.

Second. The revolution of 1830 was made by a small Republican party belonging to the new generation but brought up in the faith of 1793. Too weak to impose its will on France, it yielded the power to the Liberal Royalists, who set up the July monarchy. It sought to recover control by armed outbreaks in Paris, 1831-34; but the government, resting on the majority, resisted, and broke up these attempts by force of arms, prosecutions, and legislation. But the July monarchy remained a revolutionary government, based on the sovereignty of the people and compromised by the tricolour flag, the symbol of the Revolution.

Third. In the next generation the Republican party, reduced

to a few secret societies, got the help of the Socialist workingmen and made the revolution of 1848. This time it set up the "Democratic and Social Republic." But it was unable to keep the power: the great majority of the nation was against it. The Republican Assembly of 1848 expelled it from the government; and when it tried to return by violence, destroyed it by military force on the "Days of June." Reconstituted as a democratic party, it was assisted by the monarchist Assembly of 1849; and at the moment when it had begun to gain the democratic regions of the south and east, it was rudely shattered by the Imperialist *coup d'état* of 1851. Napoleon III. established a government, monarchical in its processes, but even more revolutionary in principle than the July monarchy. From the revolution of 1848 he borrowed not only the power of the people to make the Constitution, but also universal suffrage, the starting-point of a new democratic *régime*.

Fourth. The Republican party, reconstituted after the amnesty of 1859, gathered strength in the new generation, and before the end of the Empire formed in the large cities and democratic regions a radical party sufficiently numerous to begin operations in the electoral field. It made the revolution of 1870, which, like that of 1792, was an outcome of foreign policy.

But the old royalist parties, in the confusion of the war, gained an accidental majority in the sovereign Assembly which came into power in 1871. The Republican party was rent in twain. The Socialist party of Paris tried to obtain control by the old Republican method of a revolution in Paris; it set up the Commune and was exterminated. France had received a political education and no longer accepted revolutions in Paris as decisive. The Republicans of the provinces supported the lawful government, and as early as 1871 had a majority of the voters.

Once more a Republican revolution was followed by a monarchical reaction, which failed, however, to bring about another restoration. Its failure was due to the revolutionary emblem, the tricolour flag, now become so completely the emblem of the nation that one of the royalist parties (the Orleanist) could not make up its mind to sacrifice it. The Republicans, by a compromise with these dissident monarchists, at length obtained the adoption of a republican constitution—parliamentary, like the Orleanist monarchy; democratic, like French society.

Little by little the royalist generation was passing away and its place was taken by Republicans. Since 1869 the latter were

in majority in the cities; in 1876 they became definitely masters of the east and south, which assured them a majority in the Assembly and control of the government. It had no further motive for making revolutions; it had only to maintain the existing system in order to win over gradually the west and north. Revolutions ceased when the Republican party, the only one organized for making them, had no further need of revolutions.

The political development of the nineteenth century has been a series of ebbs and flows, but the tendency has been toward republicanism. By repeated seizures of the government and an agitation more and more effective, the democratic Republicans have finally conquered France.

But the revolutions have been directed only to the structure of the central government and the possession of power. The social organization and the administrative mechanism have been preserved without serious change.

The democratic social organization, free from clerical control, established by the Revolution, was acceptable to the Republicans, and sufficiently popular to escape attack. The monarchical governments have tried indirectly to revive the influence of the great landowners, the middle class, and the clergy, but they have not touched any of the social institutions—peasant proprietorship, equal division of inheritances, civil equality, eligibility for public office without distinctions of birth, exclusion of clerical control: France has steadily preserved the social system of the Revolution.

The centralized and bureaucratic administrative system of the Empire has also remained nearly intact. All the parties, when in opposition, have declared it to be oppressive, but, on attaining office, have preserved it as an instrument of power. Of the older Imperial *régime* France still retains:

(*a*) The central administration with its ministers, the departmental administration with its prefects and sub-prefects, and its control over the communes;

(*b*) The judicial organization with its body of court counsellors and its permanent judges, with its Ministry of Justice composed of advocates and prosecuting attorneys, with its antiquated and formal civil procedure and its secret inquisitorial criminal procedure, with the Napoleonic *code* almost unchanged (the granting of divorce is only a return to an institution taken away in 1815); with its sale of the posts of solicitor, notary, registrar, and bailiff;

(*c*) The administrative justice of the Councils of Prefecture

and the Council of State, briskly attacked by the Liberals under Napoleon III., but later accepted, including the famous Article 75 of the Constitution of the year VIII.;*

(*d*) The ecclesiastical organization established by the Concordat and organic laws; the Legion of Honour, with its titles copied from noble orders;

(*e*) The University, with its rectors, inspectors; its *lycées*, with their military discipline; its Normal School, and its system of competitive examinations;

(*f*) The revenue system, with its direct and indirect taxes, its monopolies and *octrois*, and its agents divided off into special services. New taxes have been created, old ones have been increased, loans have been contracted, the national revenue has been greatly enlarged, but neither the assessment nor the mode of collection has been changed.

The *customs system* instituted to protect the manufacturers of fabrics and iron wares by duties all but prohibitory, was shaken by Napoleon III. and opposed by the agricultural regions of the south and the traders of the seaports, and has been almost made over since 1871.

Only four changes of importance have been made in the Imperial system in a century:

1. The *municipal authorities* have been made elective—a beginning of local political life of decentralization. Following the old aristocratical principle, these offices are without salary, but they are sought as stepping-stones to national services where salaries are paid.

2. The *military system* has been transformed, in imitation of

*This article, which forbade suits against administrative officers without permission of the government, was abrogated by decree of the Government of National Defence in September, 1870. The author must have had in mind the unexpected result of the abrogation. The ordinary courts held that it opened the way for suits against public officers for illegal action toward private citizens; in other words, that it introduced in France the familiar doctrine of our common law that an official who acts without legal warrant may be proceeded against as a private trespasser. But this view was not sustained by the *tribunal des conflits*—the final court of appeal. That court decided in 1873 that, under the separation of powers, the judiciary cannot interfere with the action of the executive and its agents. The result of abrogating Article 75 was, therefore, to cut off even the limited right that previously existed of bringing suit against official wrongdoers by permission of the government. (See Ducrocq, "Droit Administratif," 6th ed., vol. i., p. 644.)—TR.

Prussia, by the introduction of universal military service for a short term, and the abolition of the national guard—retaining, however, the old military schools.

3. *Public education* has been modified by the creation, since 1850, of secondary schools for boys, managed by ecclesiastics, in competition with the state schools; by the reform of higher education on the model of the German universities; by the institution of gratuitous and compulsory primary education, free from clerical control, and a system of schools for girls—both copied from Germany. These changes have created a body of lay teachers in competition with the teaching brotherhoods and sisterhoods of the previous system.

4. The condition of labourers has been modified by freedom of combination and by the creation of syndicates modelled on the English trade unions.

With the exception of making the mayors and local councils elective,—which was only an application of the new democratic policy,—the evolution has been mainly the introduction of foreign institutions into France.

France, then, is *governed* by men chosen on the democratic principle of election; its political chiefs are the deputies, chosen directly, and the senators and ministers, chosen indirectly, by the voters—all under the control of the press and public opinion. It is *administered* by a bureaucratic body of officials, divided into special services, which are organized as a hierarchy, with chiefs who co-opt and control each other, subject to regulations and special usages, but independent of public opinion.

These two sets of public servants, drawing their authority from two opposing principles, tend to apply two conflicting conceptions of government. The politicians, having only a temporary power delegated from below, incline primarily to please *the voters* on whom they depend, by conforming to the prevailing opinion. The officials, exercising a power conferred from above and practically for life, tend to see in the citizens *subjects of administration*, who must be kept in due submission to authority and regulations.

Monarchical governments prevent conflicts between these two sets by giving preponderance to the officials; the democratic system makes the conflict perpetual. The elected representatives of the people, wielding the sovereignty, are not content with exercising an indirect control over the officials through budget votes and the enactment of laws. They wish to share with the official

class the practical sovereignty, which is the executive power. The Chamber has established its superiority over the administrative officers through the persons of the ministers, its indirect agents, who, in becoming official heads of the services, have inherited the absolute authority over the official class formerly exercised by the royal and imperial ministers. And as the ministers, once installed at the top of the hierarchy and surrounded by permanent officials, readily catch the spirit of their subordinates and the traditions of authority, the Chamber keeps them in dependence upon itself by means of the Budget Committee and interpellations.

It is this that makes the Interpellation the leading institution of French parliamentary procedure. The deputies, the sole direct representatives of the citizens, are led, by a logical consequence of the democratic principle, to assume the part of directors and defenders of the people; individually they come into personal contact with the ministers and officials, to hasten the slow action of the latter in the settlement of business matters affecting their constituents, to check or repress abuses of power, and to nominate candidates for vacant offices, or even to insure their own personal influence or that of their particular group. This is what is called "the pressure of the deputies on the administration." The frequency of interpellations and the pressure of the deputies are condemned by all writers on constitutional law as interferences of the legislature with the executive, contrary to the doctrine of the separation of powers. They have none the less become fundamental features of the political life of France. They are practical contrivances which enable two contradictory sets of institutions to exist side by side: a democratic political system and a permanent administrative hierarchy. It compels the permanent officials to submit to the people's chosen representatives.*

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* An Interpellation is a formal question addressed to the ministers, calling on them for explanation and defence of their action on any matter. It may be introduced by any deputy, and is entitled, under the rules, to a place on the program of some sitting within a month of its introduction.—TR.

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CHAPTER VIII.

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND.

Formation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.—The kingdom of the Netherlands was made up of territory that had been conquered by France and reduced to French departments, but was made independent again in 1814. It was made by uniting three pieces which had been separate before the French annexation: the former Austrian Netherlands, the Bishopric of Liège (Lüttich), and the old United Provinces (known as Holland).

For these countries the French occupation had been, not a mere episode, but a profound transformation. It had swept clean the ground on which the political edifice of the nineteenth century was to be built. There were in the Low Countries before the Revolution provinces of very unequal importance, governed under old and dissimilar customs, some of them without political rights (the Belgian districts conquered by the Dutch). Society was divided into classes unequal before the law; all political power was in the hands of certain families or privileged bodies; the central government was weak; religious liberty was not recognised. France had swept away all the privileges, all the customs, all the political bodies of the provinces. She had set up in their stead the French system—equality among the citizens, equality among the provinces, systematic division into departments, each provided with a complete system of public services. The old aristocratic and irregular system was gone; a new democratic society, with a centralized administration, had been created in its stead. This new society has made the Netherlands of the nineteenth century.

The French revolutionary *régime* has remained firmly rooted in the country; but French rule did not survive the fall of Napoleon. The inhabitants had little liking for it, as it came to them in the form of the military conscription and the Continental blockade—death and ruin. As soon as the French armies withdrew French administration collapsed. The movement began with the arrival of the allied army at The Hague. Some members of the old Dutch government organized a provisional admin-

istration, recalled the former sovereign, William, and called a meeting of notables to advise as to further proceedings. The head of the provisional government, Hogendorp, proposed to re-establish the old system; that is to say, the confederation of provinces possessing unequal rights. Professor Kemper, though an enemy of the French, showed that the old government was no longer possible, and induced the Assembly to break with the past, to accept the work of the Revolution, and establish a new unitary kingdom.* The prince took the title of William I., King of the Netherlands.

The Belgian provinces and the Bishopric of Liège, having no legitimate sovereigns, were treated as vacant territory. The Allies, being friendly to the Orange family, gave these lands to the kingdom of the Netherlands in order to strengthen it and "put it in a position to resist attack until the powers could come to its aid." The new kingdom was to serve as a barrier against France. The great powers, by an agreement inserted in the treaties of Vienna, declared it neutral, and engaged with each other to respect its neutrality. The neutrality of the Netherlands became and has remained a principle of European public law.

Belgian Opposition.—The union of the Dutch and Belgian Netherlands seemed to be a combination advantageous to all. Belgium could supply agricultural and factory products; Holland had its shipping and its colonies; the two countries complemented each other. At least one-half of the Belgians spoke Flemish, that is to say, Dutch.

The treaty of 1814 stipulated for equal protection of both forms of worship and representation for the Belgians in the States-General. It said "the Union shall be close and complete." But it was made under conditions that made it hateful to the Belgians.

The king had promised a constitution, and appointed a commission, sitting in Holland, to draw it up. The *Fundamental Law* established a constitutional monarchy of the sort desired by Louis XVIII. and the English Tories. The king shared the legislative power with the States-General, and exercised the executive power through ministers; he had the right of making peace and war. But the ministers were not made responsible to the States-General. These had only a very limited right of pro-

* The new kingdom re-established the old provinces, dividing the largest, however, Holland and Flanders.

posing legislation, and no right of amendment. Of the two Chambers composing them, the upper was appointed by the king; the other was elected by the provincial councils, which in turn were elected by the property owners, through the medium of electors. The system of administration established by the French was retained: each province had a governor and each commune a burgomaster, all appointed by the King. The French codes and hierarchy of judges were retained, but trial by jury was suppressed.* In principle, liberty of the person, of residence, and of the press was accepted, but the deposit and stamp were continued for newspapers, and the government could suspend all forms of liberty in times of disturbance.

This constitution displeased the Belgian Liberals, brought up in the school of Benjamin Constant. They said its provision for representation was illusory, being subject to the personal power of the King; and that its liberties were only a sham, being left at the mercy of the administration.

The constitution laid down the principle of liberty of worship and of the press, and thereby it offended the Belgian Catholics. The bishops of Belgium condemned it publicly in 1815, in their *Doctrinal Judgment*, which forbade their flocks to swear to support the constitution. "We have thought it necessary to declare that none of our spiritual subjects can, without making themselves guilty of a great crime, take the different oaths prescribed by the constitution." Among the provisions "opposed to the spirit and maxims of the Catholic religion, the Judgment cites liberty of religious opinion, equality of civil and political rights, the right of publicly exercising every form of worship, and liberty of the press. To swear to maintain freedom of religious opinion and equal protection for all forms of worship is to swear to maintain and protect error as truth, to favour the progress of anti-Catholic doctrines, to sow, as far as we can, in the field of the family the foulness and poison that shall infect present and future generations. . . The Catholic Church, which has always thrust from its bosom error and heresy, could not regard as its true children those who should dare to swear that which she has never ceased to condemn. This dangerous new doctrine was introduced, for the first time in a Catholic country, by the revolutionists of France, about twenty-five years ago, and then the head of the Church condemned it emphatically. To swear to keep a law

* It has not been re-established, up to the present time, in the kingdom of the Netherlands.

which makes all the King's subjects, whatever their religious belief, capable of filling all offices and dignities, would be to justify in advance the measures taken to confide the interests of our holy religion in Catholic provinces to Protestant officials." The bishops also called attention to the article "which authorizes liberty of the press and opens the door to an infinitude of disorders, a deluge of anti-Christian writings." The Archbishop of Malines, who wrote the Doctrinal Judgment, was brought before the courts and condemned to deportation. But the Belgian clergy refused absolution to the notables who had taken the oaths.

This constitution, viewed with disfavour by both Liberals and Catholics, had been established in a way that gave offence to all Belgians. The King convoked an assembly of about 1600 Belgian notables to approve it: the assembly pronounced against it by a strong majority—796 to 527. The government then declared that those who had rejected it for religious reasons (126 Belgian Catholics) ought to be disregarded; it then added to the number in favour those who had not voted. In this way it decided that the Fundamental Law had been adopted by Belgium.

The government made itself even more unpopular than the constitution among the Belgians: The seat of government was in Holland. Nearly all office-holders, high and low, were Dutch. In 1830 one of the seven ministers was Belgian; 11 of the 117 officials of the Interior were Belgian; 288 out of 1967 military officers were Belgian. In the States-General, Belgium, with three and one-half millions of inhabitants, had the same representation as Holland with two and one-half millions. By detaching a few Belgian members, the government could have a majority for Dutch measures. All the public establishments, the Bank, the military schools, were Dutch. The Dutch brought to the new kingdom a heavy debt which increased the fiscal burdens of the Belgians. They introduced their system of taxes—the grist tax and the meat tax—which were disliked by the people of Belgium. The Belgians felt that they were treated as an annexed people and exploited by the Dutch.

The government seemed to aim at assimilating the Belgians by compelling them to change their language. From 1819 on knowledge of Dutch was required of every person entering the public service. In 1822 Dutch was made the official language, except in the Walloon districts, for all public and judicial acts. Now, the language of the bar, even in the Flemish districts, was French. By this measure the government alienated the lawyers.

It made itself odious to newspaper men by prosecuting them before exceptional tribunals. It succeeded in irritating the clergy by establishing in 1825 the Philosophical College of Louvain and requiring future ecclesiastics to spend two years in study there. The kingdom of the Netherlands was hardly accomplishing what the treaty of 1814 promised—an "intimate and perfect union."

Revolution of 1830.—The Belgians were discontented, but had no practicable means of escape from Dutch rule. The King was against them, and the King was the government. In the States-General the Dutch had one-half of the votes and, thanks to the Orangists of Antwerp and Ghent, always had a majority. The Belgians were not even united among themselves; some were Catholic partisans of the old *régime*, others were Liberals and devoted to the principles of the French Revolution. In 1827 it seemed as if the Catholics, appeased by the Concordat arranged between the King and the Pope, were going to come over to the side of the government.

But some of the political leaders of the Catholic party had lately adopted a new doctrine mainly inspired by the reading of Lamennais. Instead of crying down the liberty condemned by the Doctrinal Judgment of the bishops in 1815, they were insisting on it as favourable to the triumph of Catholic truth. The Liberal Catholics were, perhaps, not very numerous, but they took the lead of the party, and concerted action in common with the Liberals.

In 1828 the two Belgian parties, Catholic and Liberal, formed the *Union* to oppose the common enemy, the Dutch government. They began with petitions to the King demanding the liberties guaranteed by the constitution. Then they demanded a separate administration for Belgium. The conflict led to a rising.

It was the July revolution in France that gave the Belgians the idea of a revolt. At the anniversary of the king's accession, August 25, 1830, the opera *La Muette* (the Mute) was played at Brussels. Its appeals to Liberty excited the spectators; they cried, "Let us do as the French have done." The mob demolished the police offices and the place where the ministerial organ was published. It was still only a Brussels outbreak; but the citizens raised the Brabancon flag, and the province of Brabant was in revolt. Prince Frederick, eldest son of the King, went to Brussels with troops and put himself in communication with the leading men. It was agreed to ask the King to convoke the

States-General to consider the question of giving each country a separate government under the same King (a personal union). The States-General met and the King spoke against the separation. At Brussels, on the 23d of September, Prince Frederick's army of 10,000 men seized the upper part of the city and attacked the lower part. But the troops found it barricaded and defended by citizens in arms. After three days of fighting the army was driven off. The insurgents had formed an executive committee to take charge of the insurrection; the committee organized itself as a provisional government and issued a proclamation calling home the Belgians in the King's army: "Belgian blood has been shed. . . This shedding of generous blood has broken every tie. The people of Belgium are unshackled." On the 29th of September the States-General pronounced for separation, by 50 votes against 44; but it was too late.

All the Belgian provinces rose in revolt. The Dutch held only two fortified places, Maestricht and Antwerp. The provisional government decreed, October 4, "The provinces of Belgium, detached from Holland by force, shall constitute an independent state." It promised to draw up a draft of a constitution, and to convoke a national congress to establish a system of government for all Belgium. King William tried to arrest the rupture. He sent his son to Antwerp to promise a Belgian administration, managed by Belgians. The Prince even declared: "Belgians, I recognise you as an independent nation; choose freely deputies to a national congress." The provisional government replied: "The people have driven the Dutch from Belgian soil; they alone, and not the Prince of Orange, are at the head of this movement to gain independence and establish their nationality."

Founding of the Kingdom of Belgium.—The Congress called to make a constitution for Belgium was elected by men twenty-five years of age and paying a tax varying from 13 to 150 florins, according to locality, or following a liberal profession (in all 44,000 voters).

There were four parties: the Orange Monarchists (Ghent and Antwerp); the Republicans, whose leader, Potter, had conducted the rising; the partisans of annexation to France (in the Liège region); and finally, the partisans of a national monarchy, far the most numerous of the four.

The Congress voted, at the outset, four principles: 1st, The people of Belgium are independent. 2d, The people of Belgium adopt as the form of their government an hereditary monarchy

with representative institutions (174 votes against 13 Republicans). "It was not worth while," said Potter, "to spill so much blood for such a trifle." 3d, The members of the Orange family are permanently excluded from power in Belgium (168 votes against 28 Orangists). 4th, This Congress is empowered to make a constitution for the kingdom.

It was necessary to settle at once three practical questions: 1st, To choose a sovereign; 2d, To draw up a constitution; 3d, To announce the new kingdom to Europe.

First. For the choice of King, the Congress at first hesitated between the Prince of Leuchtenberg, son of Beauharnais, the Austrian Archduke Charles, and the Duke de Nemours, son of Louis Philippe. On the second ballot, in February, 1831, it elected the Duke de Nemours; the vote stood Nemours 97, Leuchtenberg 74, Archduke Charles 21. Louis Philippe refused his approval of his son's election. The Congress then elected a Regent, Baron Surlet de Chokier, who assumed the government until a King should be elected. Presently the French and English governments agreed to propose Leopold of Coburg, who was elected by 152 votes against 44.

Second. During the long negotiations respecting the choice of a King, the Congress adopted the constitution. This was in two parts; one providing for the organization of the government, the other laying down principles of constitutional law.

The government was organized on the parliamentary system, as represented by the principles of the English Whigs. The sovereignty belongs to the people, not to the King. "All the powers emanate from the nation. The King has no powers other than those formally assigned to him by the constitution and and laws made in accordance with it." As a confession of his subordination to the people, the King must make the following oath before taking possession of the crown: "I swear to observe the constitution and laws of the Belgian people, to maintain the national independence and the integrity of the territory." The King has the executive power, but he can exercise it only through ministers. The ministers are appointed by him, but they are *responsible* to the Chambers, and in practice this responsibility is interpreted as political rather than legal. The constitution promised a law regulating the responsibility of ministers and the procedure for enforcing it; but no such law was passed till 1870, and the one then passed was practically needless. The ministers resign when they have no longer a majority in the

Chamber; this makes the Chamber the ruling power, and no statute could add to the effectiveness of its control. The legislature is composed of two houses—the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Both are elected by the same voters and have the same legal powers; but the Senators must be men of property, paying at least two thousand florins in taxes. Every tax and every levy of troops must be voted, in the first instance, by the House of Representatives. Every statute must be accepted by both houses and the King, and all three have the right of proposing changes of law. Senators and Representatives are paid for their services. To be a voter it was necessary to pay taxes to the amount of at least 20 florins ($8.00)—a requirement which appeared very small at that epoch.

The constitution decreed that there should be communal and provincial councils to administer local affairs. These were to be elected by the taxpayers—the qualifying amount being smaller than in the case of national voters. They were to have about the same powers as the municipal and general councils have had in France since 1871. In those days of centralization their powers were thought extensive.

The principles of public law established by the Congress rest on the doctrine of complete liberty, accepted equally by the leaders of both the Catholic and the Liberal parties. The constitution guaranteed all the liberties: liberty of the person, of residence, of the press, of meeting and association, of worship, of education, of language. A Catholic protested against the restriction "saving the responsibility for writings that violate the rights of society." "Under this clause," said he, "Abbé Lamennais could not have given the human race his letters of liberation, his chapters on liberty, which were against rights claimed by society."

When the position of the Church was to be settled some of the liberals proposed to place it under government control. The Catholic liberals protested; Nothomb said: "We have come to one of those epochs which occur only once in the life of a nation; let us take advantage of it. We have a chance to exercise a glorious initiative and to consecrate unreservedly one of the greatest principles of modern civilization. For centuries there have been two contending powers, civil power and ecclesiastical power. They fought for the control of society as if the empire of the one excluded that of the other. It is this conflict that we are called on to stop. There are two worlds before us, the civil

world and the religious world, they coexist without blending, they have no point of union. Civil law and religious law are distinct, each has its domain. . . There is no more connection between the state and religion than between the state and geometry. . . Let us signalize our transition by a grand principle; let us proclaim the separation of the two powers." This separation was established in Belgium according to an original system. The Church was separated from the state in so far as the lay portion of society have no power over the clergy; the Belgian bishops are directly installed by the Pope and appoint the parish priests without interference on the part of the government. But the Church retained the privileges which the state recognised before the separation, the right held by all religious bodies of receiving an appropriation from the state, exemption from military service for clergymen, the right to military honours in ceremonies, the possession of cemeteries, and the right of overseeing religious instruction in the schools. The separation freed the Church of its burdens and left it its privileges.

Third. The recognition of the Kingdom of Belgium was a long and delicate operation. It depended at once on King William and the five great powers who had taken the Kingdom of the Netherlands under their guarantee. The King was unwilling to give up Belgium and prepared to reconquer it. Belgium, having no regular army, would have been unable to defend itself alone, even against the army of Holland; it was at the mercy of the great powers. Their disunion was its salvation; the three absolutist eastern powers wished to support William in maintaining the treaties of 1815 and in crushing the revolution. The two liberal powers of the west sympathized with the Belgians—the French to destroy the unpopular treaty of 1815 and to show their power, the English to keep the mouth of the Scheldt from falling into the power of France. The two western powers had better opportunity for action and were more free to act. They secured the decision that each of the five powers should send an agent to a conference in London to settle the Belgian question.

The London Conference settled the fate of Belgium, and the Belgian Congress could only submit. It had to settle three important questions: the independence of Belgium, the frontier between Belgium and the Netherlands, and the division of the debt between the two governments, besides a number of smaller questions: navigation of the Scheldt, demolition of the fortresses constructed against France, and indemnity to the Germanic Con-

federation for Luxemburg. It was not long in declaring for independence: but on the other questions its decisions were guided by diplomatic motives. It adopted successively three sets of decisions (January 20, 1831, June 26, October 15). The last, the 24 Articles, was the least advantageous for Belgium, obliging her to give up part of Luxemburg and Limburg. The Belgian Congress accepted the decision with great lamentation, and the powers recognised the kingdom by declaring it neutral (February, 1832).

King William refused to accept the decision. At the expiration of the armistice of November, 1830, which the powers had imposed on him, he had begun the war again (August, 1831) and routed the two Belgian armies; Leopold had called France to his assistance, and it was a French army that delivered Belgium. But the Dutch army, in retreating, had retained Antwerp. It was again a French army which in 1832 besieged and took Antwerp; it worked without a declaration of war, as an army of execution charged with carrying out the decisions of the conference.

After the fall of Antwerp, the Dutch retained only two forts on the Scheldt, and the King stubbornly refused to give them up. Belgium, on her part, kept the bits of Limburg and Luxemburg which the London Conference had granted to Holland. When in 1839 William finally decided to demand an exchange, the Belgian Chamber at first tried to resist, but in the face of the threatening powers it yielded with many protests.

Thus the independence of Belgium was proclaimed in principle by the Belgian insurgents and established in fact by France, with the official consent of the great states of Europe.

THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS SINCE 1830.

The Constitution of 1848.—The Kingdom of the Netherlands, reduced to the former United Provinces, had at first only a sleepy political life. The personal government of the King continued until 1848. Politics were confined to the Belgian conflict and the financial difficulties. The war and the King's personal expenses had increased the debt by 375,000,000 florins in 10 years. The press remained subject to the system of repression organized against the Belgian papers.

William I., who had become very unpopular, abdicated in 1840: he wished to marry a Catholic, a maid of honour to the late

Queen. His son William II. dismissed his father's ministry, but preserved the same system. The malcontents formed a small liberal party in the second Chamber. Their leader, Thorbecke, professor of public law at Leyden, took the initiative in demanding a revision of the constitution in 1844. The King at first refused. But in 1847 the agitation became more active, and in 1848 the King, doubtless affected by the revolutions of Europe, appointed in addition to his ministry a commission charged with the preparation of a plan of revision; Thorbecke and three other liberals were members of it. Then the King convoked the States-General, with a double number of deputies, to act on the revision. They adopted the new fundamental law, and it was promulgated in November, 1848.

The revision of 1848 was chiefly concerned with the method of recruiting the States-General and with their rights. The first Chamber, instead of being appointed by the King, is elected by the provincial estates; the second Chamber is chosen by direct election of persons who pay a direct tax, varying according to locality from 160 to 20 florins. The deputies receive a salary. The second Chamber is elected for four years renewed by halves biennially; but the King can dissolve the whole at any time. The powers of the second Chamber are much increased; it has the right to propose laws and to amend bills proposed by the government. The ministers are declared responsible before the States-General.

The fundamental law of 1848 recognised the rights of provinces and communes. Each of the eleven provinces * has its provincial estates, elected by the same voters as the second Chamber, for 9 years, renewed by thirds triennially; the members receive a salary. They are occupied chiefly with roads and canals. Each commune has its council elected for 6 years, renewed by thirds (the property qualification for communal electors is one-half of that for political electors), its aldermen elected by the communal council, and its burgomaster appointed by the government. The police is their chief province. The decisions of all authorities are submitted to the government, which may annul them.

The constitution also acknowledges the right of communities to levy taxes and make regulations for the maintenance of dikes and waterlocks (Waterschappen).

* To the 7 former United Provinces have been added 3 formerly subject countries, Drenthe, Brabant, Limburg; and Holland had been divided into two parts.

The Parties since 1848.—With the constitution of 1848 begins the political life of the Netherlands. The responsibility of ministers before the Chambers is not interpreted as strictly as in Belgium. The King retains in practice a portion of his personal power. He has even been known to take a ministry from the minority when the majority was feeble and divided. But before a clear majority he has always yielded. Custom has inclined more and more toward the parliamentary system.

In the Netherlands parties are chiefly religious, formed on the question of public schools. The Constitution of '48 established the principle that the state should provide free primary education; it recognised for all creeds the liberty of establishing private schools, but the public schools must remain neutral.

The Catholics compose at least a third of the whole population of the Netherlands and almost the whole population of the southern provinces (Brabant and Limburg). Accustomed to follow the direction of their clergy, they have constituted a compact political party. The Protestants have divided into two parties, the *Orthodox*, who favour Calvinistic education, and the *Liberals*, who favour non-sectarian education. The orthodox have been the nucleus of the Conservative party, which calls itself *anti-revolutionary;* but they have been re-enforced by the partisans of the *régime* existing prior to 1848, that is to say, of the government of officials, King, and aristocracy. The upper Chamber is controlled by manufacturers and capitalists; the second Chamber is composed of men who represent the average opinion of small traders and small landowners. The labouring classes are excluded from the right of voting.

Since 1840 the Liberal party, which is the party of the cities in Holland, has had an almost uninterrupted majority, and has usually held the ministry; but at different times it has been so weakened by divisions that the King has been enabled to follow his personal preference by taking Conservative ministers.

The Catholic party began by working with the Liberals, who favoured religious liberty, which the Orthodox party was threatening. In 1853, when the Pope created the official organization of the Church in the Netherlands (an archbishop at Utrecht and four bishops, one for Holland, two for Brabant, and one for Limburg), the Orthodox party protested. The Liberal ministry declared it impossible to hinder the Catholics from organizing, and confined itself to proposing a law which gave the government the right to supervise the parishes. When it was finally decided to

organize the primary instruction promised by the Constitution of 1848, the Catholics voted with the Liberals to establish the law of 1857, obliging every commune to maintain non-sectarian public schools. The public school was not to give any denominational instruction; its aim was to be simply to "develop the intellectual faculties of the children and educate them in all the virtues, both Christian and social." The master must "not do or permit anything contrary to the respect which is due to the religious feelings of persons of another faith." The commune pays the expenses of the public school and appoints the masters; it has the right to levy a school tax; education is neither gratuitous nor compulsory. The government makes good a part of the expense and appoints the inspectors.

The Orthodox Protestants and Catholics, who object to neutral education, have established private schools of their own creeds (statistics of 1890 show about 3000 public schools with 450,000 scholars, against 1300 private schools with 195,000 scholars). The Catholic party has re-enforced its organization in the Catholic districts; the communal councils have employed their right of choosing teachers and to supervise education in such ways as to transform the public schools into Catholic schools. The clause of the law forbidding any teaching offensive to any religious body has been in some cases interpreted in such manner as to cut out from the list of studies the history of the Reformation and the wars against Spain.

The Catholic party, now become stronger, joined the Orthodox party against the Liberals to repeal the law of 1857 and establish denominational public schools. The attempt began in 1868. A Conservative ministry re-established separate government departments for Catholics and Protestants. The bishops issued a manifesto against the school law, adjuring parents to leave their children without instruction rather than send them to the non-sectarian school. This attack has been several times renewed. The Liberals retorted with the law of 1878 which maintained the principle of non-sectarianism in the same form as in 1857, increased the salaries of teachers, and made the government responsible for 30 per cent. of the expenses.

The Liberal party, united to support the non-sectarian schools, divided on other questions: colonial policy, military reform, and extension of the right of voting.

First. The system imposed on the natives of the Dutch Indies, especially in Java, produced benefits for the mother country;

since 1850 the government had been in the habit of balancing the budget by means of the colonial surplus, and it had paid off a portion of the old debt. In 1873 began the war against the hostile people of Atjé, in Sumatra, which is still going on, and involves heavy military expenditures. From that date the colonial budget has yielded, not a surplus, but a deficit which, added to the deficit of the home government, amounts on an average to from 4,000,000 to 6,000,000 florins. It has been found impossible to agree on the creation of new taxes to restore the equilibrium, and so loans have been resorted to (1886, 1891). The policy of the colonial war, and the deficit which it involved, have become a favourite ground for the attacks of the opposition.

Second. The army was recruited by enlistment, to which was added in 1861 enrollment by drafting with right of substitution; the national guard, the *Schutterij,* has been preserved in the cities. After 1870, under the influence of the general reform movement in the armies of Europe and the fear of a German invasion, a party was formed to demand the abolition of drafting and substitution, and the establishment of universal military service as in Prussia, with a reserve in place of the national guard. But the movement met with stout resistance from the clergy and the well-to-do classes, which controlled the States-General, and the ministerial plan of 1891 was rejected in 1893. The Chamber voted the principle of personal service, but the Catholics defeated the passage of the law and caused the fall of the Conservative ministry which had proposed it.

Third. Extension of suffrage was demanded as early as 1872 by a portion of the Liberals. But it could not be accomplished except by a revision of the constitution. The government waited years before presenting the plan; the States-General were slow in discussing it; the revision, proposed in 1880, was not voted until 1887. It extended the right of voting to all those who could fulfil the educational and property qualifications. This designedly vague formula has allowed the increase of the number of voters from 135,000 to 350,000. The lower House, numbering 100 members, is renewable in full every fourth year, instead of being renewed by halves every second year, as before.

A small socialist party has been formed under a very active leader, a former pastor, Domela-Nieuwenhuis; it was recruited in the large cities, and in Frisia, among the country labourers, and demanded universal suffrage and the abolition of the upper Chamber. There have been two riots in Amsterdam.

The Liberals have divided on the suffrage question; the majority has supported the Tak ministry, which proposed to extend the right of voting to all who could read and write. The dissenters, joining the Conservatives and Catholics after the dissolution in 1893, secured a majority in coalition which took the ministry in 1894. This ministry succeeded in 1896 in passing an electoral law which grants suffrage to most taxpayers. The total number of voters is estimated at over 600,000.

The nineteenth century has been a time of prosperity for the Netherlands. The population has increased from 2,600,000 in in 1829 to 4,600,000 in 1891.

Luxemburg.—The powers of Europe, when creating the Kingdom of the Netherlands, had given Luxemburg a special and complex position. While all the other Belgian provinces had been ceded to the King of the Netherlands "as an increase of territory," Luxemburg had been given to him as *indemnity* for the German domains of the Orange-Nassau family, which had been annexed to Prussia. It was set up as the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, hereditary in the Orange-Nassau family in the order of male succession, and made a part of the Germanic Confederation. The city of Luxemburg was made a federal fortress, with a Prussian garrison, and the King of the Netherlands granted to Prussia the right of appointing the military governor. The Grand Duchy became a state of the Germanic Confederation, attached to the Netherlands by a personal union alone.

But the King of the Netherlands, sovereign of Luxemburg, created it as a province of his kingdom, applying to it the Constitution of 1815 and the Dutch laws. Provincial estates were organized after an aristocratic system in three orders: knights, citizens, and members for the rural districts. These were elected indirectly by propertied voters, and chose the deputies to the States-General. They had, beyond this, little more than a consultative function. The country was in fact governed by Dutch officials.

The Revolution of 1830 cut Luxemburg in two. The city, which was occupied by the Prussian garrison, alone remained subject to the King. All the rest of the country revolted, joined Belgium, and was incorporated in the new kingdom. Only one part remained Belgian definitively.* Another part, the smallest,

* In exchange for the bit of Luxemburg which was taken from the Germanic Confederation, Limburg was made a duchy and entered the Confederation.

was restored to the King of the Netherlands in 1839 and reunited to the city; this is the existing Grand Duchy of Luxemburg. Belgian rule had introduced there habits of self-government and liberty which made it difficult in practice to return to the former government, so the King gave Luxemburg a separate administration. In 1842 he carried it into the German Zollverein, or customs union, against the wish of its inhabitants.

In 1848 the King granted the Grand Duchy a special constitution modelled on that of Belgium, with a responsible government and a Chamber directly elected by the propertied voters (10-franc qualification). As a part of the Germanic Confederation, Luxemburg sent deputies to the Frankfort Parliament.

During the general reaction against revolution, the King abrogated the Constitution of 1848 as contrary to the principles adopted by the other sovereigns of the confederation. He gave it instead the Constitution of 1856, which raised the voting qualification and robbed the Chamber of almost all its powers, leaving it only the right to vote the laws and *new* taxes proposed by the government.

After the dissolution of the Germanic Confederation, the King wished to sell Luxemburg to France, but was prevented by Germany. Prussia withdrew her garrison, and the position of Luxemburg was arranged by an international convention of the powers in 1867. It was declared a sovereign, neutral state, under the guarantee of the powers; but it was forbidden to have an army or a fortification. The King granted the Constitution of 1868, founded on the same liberal principles as that of 1848, but rendering the government practically independent of the vote of the Chamber. Between Luxemburg and the Netherlands there remained only a personal union.

In 1890 William III. being dead, his daughter inherited the Kingdom of the Netherlands. But the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, hereditary only through the male line, passed to his nearest agnate, the Duke of Nassau, who had been deprived of his Duchy of Nassau by Prussia in 1866.

The leading political question, in this little state, is that of languages: French is still the official language, but the majority of the inhabitants speak German and have their commercial relations with Germany, and the reigning family is German.

THE KINGDOM OF BELGIUM.

Formation of Parties.—In 1830 all the Belgians had been united against foreign rule. But the parties, which had joined for

the struggle, separated very soon. As early as 1831 a group of Liberals established a newspaper, the *Independence*, with the motto: independent civil power. It protested against the religious liberty adopted by the Congress: "The Catholic religion seems to us by nature given to encroaching; we believe it dangerous and continually hostile to civil society. . . We deem it our duty to watch its progress and resist its invasions." The government had two universities, Ghent in the Flemish provinces, Liège in the Walloon provinces; the two parties, taking advantage of the freedom of higher education, established each a free university, the Catholics at Louvain, the Liberals at Brussels.

In the first years of the kingdom the great divergence between Catholics and Liberals did not take a distinctly political form; parties were formed on practical questions. Until peace was declared with Holland, there were two parties—the *Greens*, who favoured war, and the *Ripès*, who favoured peace. The war party wished to keep Luxemburg in defiance of the powers. The Chambers were busy with the organization of local administration and the settlement of the finances. Belgium found herself at once burdened with a part of Holland's debt and impoverished by the rupture of relations with Holland. She went through a terrible crisis: in 1839 the Bank and the Savings Bank failed.

The government sought to keep itself free from party control. The ministries succeeded each other rapidly. But the King systematically avoided a party ministry. He chose men of moderate opinions, or even combined representatives of opposite tendencies (the Nothomb ministry—3 Catholics and 3 Liberals). It was at this time that the English theory of the eighteenth century was admitted, that the sovereign should keep the government from falling into the hands of a single party, and that the ministry must be, not homogeneous, but impartial, without a policy. . . The Minister of Justice in 1840 protested against the "fatal divisions of opinion that always entail opposing parties." He condemned "the division into Catholics and Liberals as one without meaning in the presence of the great principles of liberty consecrated by our constitution."

These peaceful intentions ceased when the Catholics, in the name of religious liberty, carried the Education Act of 1842. The prime minister, Nothomb, a Catholic Liberal, summed it up as follows: "No primary schools without moral and religious instruction. We break with the philosophical doctrines of the

eighteenth century, which pretended to secularize education and to constitute society on purely rationalistic bases." Religious education was declared compulsory in public schools and intrusted to the Church, the government reserving to itself only the right of supervision. This division was regarded by the deputies as a satisfactory settlement and the bill was passed unanimously, with the exception of 3 votes.

The Liberals, dissatisfied with the new law, sought to organize themselves to resist the clergy. Their leader was Defacqz, the Grand Master of the Belgian Free Masons. In 1841 he had founded, with the Liberals of every shade from the Orangists to the Democrats, a political society, the *Alliance*, having for its program the extension of the suffrage and a series of fiscal and judicial reforms. After the passage of the law of 1842 the Liberals formed local societies all over Belgium, and in 1846 the *Alliance* convoked a congress of the Liberal societies at the City Hall in Brussels. Three hundred and twenty delegates were present. The congress, under the presidency of Defacqz, decided to establish permanent Liberal associations in the cantons and adopted a platform for the Liberal party. Of the reforms which were demanded, two in particular marked the tendencies of the party: 1. "Extension of the suffrage by the continuous lowering of the property qualification down to the minimum set by the constitution"; 2. "The organization of public schools of all grades under the *exclusive* direction of the civil authorities, by giving them the constitutional means to compete with the private establishments, and taking away from the clergy the legal right to interfere with the instruction provided by the state." The suffrage and the schools have been from that time to the present day the two great political questions in Belgium.

The King, being unable to make terms with the Liberals, had just formed, in March, 1846, a ministry composed of Catholics. This ministry tried, in 1847, to carry a law on secondary schools. The Liberals excited demonstrations against it in the large cities. Louis Philippe advised his son-in-law, Leopold, to "paralyze, strike down, annihilate that audacious society [the liberal Alliance] and by all means to maintain his ministry." Leopold preferred to yield to public opinion as shown in the cities; he took a ministry made up altogether of Liberals (August, 1847).

Struggles between Catholics and Liberals.—Since 1847 it has been the constant practice in Belgium to choose a homogeneous

ministry from the party in majority in the Chamber. Voters and members have grouped themselves in two parties, Catholics and Liberals, permanently opposed to each other. They struggle against each other in elections of all sorts: for the Senate, for the Chamber, for the provincial councils, and for the communal councils. They contend for possession of the ministry and in voting laws on every question which concerns the authority of the Church: education, public charities, cemeteries, civil marriage, or diplomatic relations with the Pope. The Catholics contend in the name of "the liberty of the Church," the Liberals in the name of the "independence of the civil power." The Catholics control all the Flemish provinces inhabited by peasants, Flanders, Antwerp, Limburg, and a part of Brabant. The Liberals' strength lies in the manufacturing Walloon provinces, Brussels, Hainaut, and the Liège district. Antwerp and Ghent, the two commercial cities of the Flemish provinces, and Namur and Luxemburg, in the agricultural region of the Walloons, are politically doubtful. Victory in these doubtful regions usually insures success.

Since 1847 the two parties have been alternately in power. Three times the Liberals have had control: August, 1847, to March, 1855; November, 1857, to July, 1870; June, 1878, to June, 1884—twenty-eight years in all. Their leader has been Frère Orban, member from Liège. The Catholics have been in power: March, 1855, to November, 1857; July, 1870, to June, 1878; and since 1884—twenty-three years up to 1896. Their leader was Malou, who died in 1886. This see-saw system has the appearance of parliamentary government, but the position of the parties is totally different. The English Whigs and Tories, separated by secondary differences, agree in upholding the constitution, which makes courteous relations possible. In Belgium Catholics and Liberals disagree even in their conception of society; the contest is not between two political parties, but between two societies brought up side by side in opposing principles. The contest lets loose hot religious passions and bitter hatreds both in Parliament and in the press. It breaks out in street demonstrations, which sometimes lead to fisticuffs. It has been feared that the constitution could not hold out against these agitations, and that liberty would be suppressed by the victorious party. In reality, thanks to the common sense and natural tolerance of the Belgians, the struggle has been kept within the limits of the constitution and liberty. It has not kept the

country from increasing its wealth and population in unprecedented proportions.*

The Catholic party has had no need to create a special organization for itself; its leaders are the bishops, its staff the parish clergy, its program the decisions of the Church. As the Liberal-Catholics of 1830 have died out the party has discarded the liberal doctrine set forth in the constitution, which had been condemned by Pope Gregory XVI. in 1832,† and by Pius IX. in the encyclical of 1864. The Liberal party had never been anything more than a coalition of the opponents of the Catholic party. Their sole ground of union was hostility to the clergy. When it was a question of ousting the Catholics from power, the Liberals organized themselves strongly, but after the victory the party was weakened by dissensions on other questions. It had the advantage of rousing the inhabitants of the great cities, the working classes, and the Walloons, who were more active and more turbulent than the Flemish peasants.

The Liberals have been long in power. From 1847 to 1870 they were in power 20 years. The Liberal ministry which was in office in 1848 kept Belgium out of the revolutionary movement except for an insignificant affray. A law passed in 1848 lowered the tax-paying qualification to the minimum set by the constitution, 20 florins, and declared all office-holders ineligible. Later the Liberal party regulated the secondary schools by the law of 1850; it refused to recognise the right of the clergy to supervise these schools. But the bishops, to secure this right for themselves, resorted to the arrangement known as the *Antwerp Convention;* as religious instruction can be given only by the clergy and with the permission of the bishop, it was agreed, when a city asks for a chaplain for its high school, to ask in return that it shall promise to subject its schools to Church supervision, and exclude from its high school ministers of other beliefs.

The Liberal party weakened itself by levying new taxes and lost its majority. The Catholic party gained the ministry in 1855. In 1857 it wished to carry a law to establish "the liberty of charity," which is the right of establishing charitable institutions to be administered by the clergy, or, as the bill said, admin-

	1831	1846	1890
* Population,	3,785,000	4,337,000	6,069,000
Foreign commerce,	400,000,000 fr.	——	6,000,000,000 fr.

† "That absurd and erroneous doctrine that liberty of conscience must be guaranteed to all."

istered by "persons designated from time to time to fill certain ecclesiastical or civil offices." The Liberals were aroused, insulted the Catholics, and broke out in riots. The King at first declared that he would support the ministry of the majority. But, the communal elections having turned in favour of the Liberals, the King formed a Liberal ministry, which dissolved the Chamber and secured a strong majority, 70 against 38.

The Liberals kept the power 13 years, during which time they accomplished several practical reforms: suppression of the *octroi*, 1860; revision of the penal and commercial codes, freedom of association, reduction of railroad rates. But in this period they divided, principally on the suffrage question. The *Young Liberals*, later called the *Progressists*, demanded extended suffrage, the Radicals even demanded universal suffrage,* while the old members of the party, the *Doctrinaires*, wished to maintain the property qualification. The Liberal Alliance broke up; the *Doctrinaires* founded the *Liberal Union* in support of the ministry. There was disagreement about the army also; the *Doctrinaires* wished to retain the system of enrollment, draft, and substitution; an *Anti-military League* was formed at Brussels in 1868 to replace the army with a militia. In addition to these general causes of contention, there were local oppositions: the Flemings demanded equality of Flemish with French in public acts; the Antwerp Liberals protested against the new fortifications, which, as they said, were making Antwerp a prison. In the elections of 1870 the Liberal malcontents, Anti-militarists, and Flemish Liberals refused to vote; a number of Radicals, it was said, went so far as to vote with the Catholics.

The Catholic party, assisted to power by the Democrats, settled a number of the questions which divided the Liberals. Flemish became the official language in the Flemish provinces; correspondence with the communes and with individuals, as well as criminal procedure, must be in the language of the district.

* These new ideas of the younger generations in Belgium have been attributed to the influence of French Republicans who took refuge there after the *coup d'état.* To their influence has also been attributed the Belgian literary revival which has resulted in remarkable productiveness for so small a nation. Brussels has during the last half of the century lost its provincial character and become one of the intellectual centres of Europe. But it is hard to tell whether this movement is due to foreign influence, or to the exceptional ability of the Walloons and the Flemings of the cities.

The voting qualification was reduced to 20 francs for elections to provincial councils, 10 francs in the case of communal councils.

This was the time of the struggle between the Pope and the Kingdom of Italy, between the clergy and the government in Germany. The Belgian Catholics favoured the re-establishment of the Pope's temporal power. They signed petitions demanding that a religious marriage should precede civil marriage, and organized processions and pilgrimages. The Belgian bishops denounced the governments of Italy and Germany. In 1876, at the great Catholic banquet at Mechlin, under the direction of the Archbishop-primate of Belgium, the Pope's health was drunk before that of the King. The Catholic ministry, composed partly of former Catholic Liberals, kept out of these demonstrations, and even declared its determination to uphold the constitution; in 1877 it carried a vote of censure against an address sent by the pontifical Zouaves of Belgium to the nuncio.

To contend against the Catholic agitation, the *Doctrinaires* and Progressists united and reorganized the Liberal party. In 1875 all the Liberal societies agreed to form the *Liberal Federation*, and hold regular meetings. The Flemish Liberals founded a review, the *Liberal Flanders*, revived the name of *Beggars*, which had formerly been borne by the Belgians who revolted against Spain, and adopted the *Gueuzenlied* or Beggars' Song.

The Liberal Federation complained that the clergy forced electors to vote for their candidates by watching their vote. It demanded an investigation into the means of assuring rural voters secrecy of the ballot (1876). The Catholic ministry decided, in 1877, to propose a ballot law. By this new system, copied from the English ballot, the voter receives a printed ticket, and goes alone into the electoral booth, where he marks the name of his candidate with a cross.

In 1878 the Liberals regained their majority in the Chamber (70 against 60), and with it the ministry.

The School Law.—The Liberal party remained in power six years, in which time they succeeded in establishing primary schools independent of the Church. At first they created a special ministry for public schools. Then they carried the law on primary schools. Every commune is obliged to maintain a public school, which shall be free to poor children at least. The commune appoints the teachers, but they must show a certificate of proficiency; the State appoints the inspectors and approves the

school-books. "Religious instruction is relegated to the care of families and the clergy of the various creeds. A place in the school may be put at their disposal where the children may receive religious instruction" (Article 4). Thus religious instruction ceased to be compulsory, but the schools remained open for the clergy to come and instruct the children. This arrangement was not enough for the Catholics; they demanded that religious instruction should be part of compulsory primary education.

The bishops met at Mechlin and officially condemned the school laws, agreeing to take ecclesiastical measures against the masters and scholars of lay schools. The children should be provisionally admitted to communion as having acted without discernment; but absolution should be refused to the pupils and teachers of normal schools, primary teachers, and parents who let their children attend "schools in which the loss of the soul cannot be prevented." The parish priests were to try and establish Catholic schools.

All over Belgium began an agitation to establish private Catholic schools and prevent the children going to the public schools. The clergy gained their point, especially in Flanders. According to the calculations of the Catholic party there were in November, 1879, only 240,000 pupils in the state schools and 370,000 in the private schools, and in 1881 in the private schools 63 per cent. of the whole school population (81 per cent. in West Flanders, 84 per cent. in East Flanders).

The Belgian government has no direct influence over the clergy, for the bishops are appointed by the Pope and control the priests of their dioceses. The ministry therefore addressed itself to the Holy See. The nuncio replied at first that the Pope had urged moderation upon the bishops and that in protesting against the law the bishops had acted on their own responsibility. But when the ministry tried to represent the Pope's attitude as a reprimand of the Belgian clergy, it received a flat contradiction. It then publicly accused the Holy See of "trickery," recalled the Belgian ambassador from the papal court, and dismissed the nuncio (1880). The rupture between the government and clergy became a public issue. The Chamber accordingly voted an investigation of the schools, and published the reports of the committee, describing the sort of pressure brought to bear on teachers and parents by the clergy, and showing the insufficiency of the education given by the parish schools. In 1883 the Chamber suppressed the salaries of 400 vicars

or chaplains who performed no real service as vicars but acted as teachers in the Catholic schools. It abolished the privilege of theological students in military matters. The Liberals even began to consider means of hindering the increase of convents and monasteries, which had doubled in number and membership from 1846 to 1880.

But the Liberals were suffering from a new dissension within the party. The *Progressists* in 1881 demanded that the right of voting in national elections should be granted to the provincial electors (see p. 250). This the *Doctrinaires*, who controlled the ministry, refused. A National League was formed to promote an extension of the suffrage. The Radicals in the Chamber demanded a revision of the constitution in order to establish universal suffrage; this was rejected by 113 votes against 11. The ministry granted only an extension of the provincial suffrage to those who could pass an educational test.

The government had also caused dissatisfaction by its financial policy. To strengthen the public schools it had increased the grant for primary education year by year up to 22,000,000. The result was a growing deficit: 6,000,000 in 1881, 12,000,000 in 1882, 25,000,000 in 1883. The government had met this by means of a loan, and in 1883 proposed additional taxes on alcohol and tobacco and a raising of the customs tariff.

The discontent was so general that at the partial renewal of 1884 only 3 Liberal deputies were elected against 66 Catholics. The Catholic party, strongly organized to oppose the school law, suddenly gained a majority of 32 votes in the Chamber. The Catholic ministry, at once installed, busied itself with restoring sectarian primary education. The law of 1884 authorized communes to maintain, in place of a neutral public school, a private Catholic school. The signature of 20 fathers of families was necessary to oblige the commune to keep up the public school. The commune got the right to include in its curriculum religious and moral instruction, placing it at the beginning or the end of the session in order that parents who objected to it might be able to keep their children away from it. Public teachers whose schools were closed were dismissed with an allowance of 750 francs. Under this law, in all the districts which were under clerical control, especially in Flanders, the public schools were suppressed and replaced by Catholic schools whose teachers, whether laymen or members of religious orders, are not required to pass examinations for license.

Establishment of Universal Suffrage.—Since 1884 the Catholic party has steadily held the majority * and the ministry. But side by side with the old Liberal opposition has arisen a democratic opposition which is very active in the manufacturing districts of Liège and Hainaut, and the cities of Brussels and Ghent. It is conducted by parties of different views, united only to secure universal suffrage—a socialist party connected with the German socialists, composed chiefly of Flemish workingmen, having for centres the *Voorhuit* of Ghent and the Brussels *House of the People;* secondly, a revolutionary Republican party composed chiefly of Walloons, in communication with the French Republicans, recruited among the miners and workers in metals; thirdly, a Radical party, hostile to the rule of the property holders and to the military draft.

In 1886, during the economic crisis, the revolutionists organized strikes and demonstrations at Liège and in the coal districts, which resulted in an insurrection: mills were burned, the army was sent against the strikers, and a hundred or more were killed. The committee charged with investigating the condition of the industrial classes pointed out as legitimate their demand for compulsory personal military service. The King desired it also as a means of strengthening the army, but the Catholics, who had defeated it once already in 1872, continued to oppose it. Contemporary with the campaign for universal suffrage was the Democrats' campaign for the abolition of the privilege given to drafted men of finding substitutes.

The old Liberal parties first attempted to reconstitute the union; but the negotiations fell through (1887); the *Liberal Association*, the Progressists, demanded that suffrage should be extended to all who could read and write; the *Liberal League*, the Doctrinaires, refused. The opponents of the Catholics remained therefore broken up into three sections, divided on the suffrage question. The old Liberals, under Frère Orban, wished to keep the property qualification; the Progressists, under Janson, adopted, at the Brussels Congress of 1887, suffrage for all who could write; while the Democrats demanded universal suffrage.

Political life in Belgium has since then centred less in the sessions of the Chamber, where the Catholic majority is assured, than in the demonstrations and meetings of the Democratic parties. The Progressists have joined in the support of the Radical

* In 1886 it had even increased it, 98 against 40; between 1888 and 1892, however, the Liberals regained 24 seats.

platform, abolition of substitutes in the army (1889), and later universal suffrage. People resigned themselves to the fact that the constitution of 1831, the most liberal of its time, did not answer the conditions of political life 60 years later. The King himself in 1890 expressed the wish that the government should take the initiative in proposing a revision of the constitution.

The Catholic party, in order to put an end to the trouble, decided in 1891 to accept revision in principle. In a population of 6,000,000 souls there were not as many as 135,000 national voters; it was therefore generally recognised that the requirements for voting must be changed. But it took two years to agree on the precise changes to be made.

The Catholics proposed a lodger qualification, as in England and Holland; the *Doctrinaires* an educational qualification; the Progressists would have nothing less than universal suffrage. After a year of discussion and negotiation the Senate and Chamber agreed to vote the revision (1892), and both houses were dissolved. The Catholic party won a majority once more (92 against 66), but not the two-thirds majority necessary for a change in the constitution. The Chamber rejected all the propositions (February, 1893). The workingmen, irritated by the long delays, threatened a general strike if universal suffrage were not voted, and trouble began again in Brussels. The militia was called out, but did not seem inclined to march against the workingmen.

The Chambers were alarmed and determined to pass the Nyssens project, a combination of the systems of the different parties (1893). The new electoral law established *plural voting*. It gives to every man over 25 years of age at least one vote, with the right to additional votes on fulfilment of any of the following conditions: 1st, head of a family; 2d, possessor of real estate or a savings-bank deposit to the extent of 2000 francs; 3d, graduate of a high school. No one can have more than 3 votes. (For the Senate 75 senators are elected by voters over 30 years of age, 26 by the provincial councils.) Voting has been made compulsory, under penalty of a fine and disfranchisement for the fourth abstention. The government had proposed proportional representation, the Catholics rejected it.

The new system created 1,350,000 voters, with 2,066,000 votes. At the first election, in 1894, the old Liberal party disappeared almost entirely, except a few Progressists. The Catholics had an enormous majority. The Walloon provinces elected principally

Socialists. The Catholic party used its large majority to carry in 1895 a law on municipal elections, favourable to the peasants, and a school law intrusting religious instruction in the schools to priests. It also gave a share of the public-school moneys to the Catholic parish schools.

The balance of parties in Belgium has been destroyed by universal suffrage. The *Doctrinaire* party no longer exists; its voters, for fear of socialism, have joined the Catholic party. The whole field is now occupied by the two extreme parties: the Catholic party, supported by the Flemish peasantry, and the Socialist party, strong among the industrial classes of the Walloon provinces. Between the two, the Progressists, who have grown more and more like the French Radicals, are obliged, in order to oppose the Catholic government, to join the Socialists. It is the struggle of anti-clerical Republicans against the partisans of Church and Monarchy.

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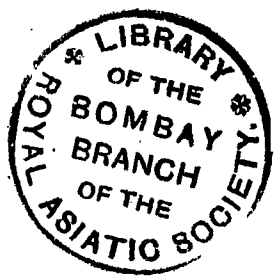

CHAPTER IX.

SWITZERLAND.

It would be a mistake to measure the interest of Switzerland's history by the size of her territory. This little country fills a large place in the history of the existing institutions of Europe. Every canton has been the scene of political experiences, and as each combined, in a way peculiar to itself, varying conditions of language, religion, territorial extent, and economic life, these experiences have been extremely varied. It is not possible to describe here the agitations, revolutions, wars, discussions, and constitutional changes of all the cantons; but to one who would comprehend the development of modern democratic states, this history is to be commended as embodying the most instructive practical examples of the principle of popular sovereignty.

The Switzerland of 1814.—Contemporary Switzerland, like Belgium and Holland, is a product of the French Revolution. France destroyed the old aristocratic *régime* in Switzerland and prepared the way for the new democratic system.

In the eighteenth century Switzerland was only a perpetual league of little sovereign states, held together by solemn engagements not to make war on each other, and to help each other against outside enemies. The union was not even a single league, but a series of leagues within leagues, made at different times and under different conditions. The old members of the confederation (13 cantons) were still distinguished from the simple allies, to say nothing of the districts ruled by certain cantons which had formerly conquered them.*

The cantons recognised no superior authority in the federation;

* The original league was between the three forest cantons, Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden; to these were added, in the fourteenth century, three cities, Lucerne, Zurich, Berne, and two small districts, Zug and Glarus. At the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century Soleure, Bâle, Freiburg, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell joined the federation. These were the 13 confederate cantons. The *allies* were Geneva, Bienne, Neuchâtel, Saint-Gall, the league of the Grisons and that of the Valais. The subject districts were Vaud, Aargau, Thurgau, and the Italian district of Ticino.

the Diet was only a meeting of their ambassadors. They governed themselves without any common system, each following its own customs based on historical rights. In each canton, absolute power belonged to the people of one city or one region, commonly even to certain old families, who governed all the other inhabitants with despotic power. Each government, having power to regulate ecclesiastical affairs, imposed its accepted religion on all its subjects. This made the cantons religious as well as political divisions of the population. The league between the cantons established no relations between their inhabitants: citizens of one canton were treated as aliens in every other, and special treaties were required to enable the citizens of any canton to acquire a domicile or hold property in other cantons. Under this traditional constitution, based on aristocracy and religious differences, without national unity, religious liberty, or civil equality, the Swiss people had neither political life nor the means of reforming their condition. "The Swiss," said Goethe, "having delivered themselves from one tyrant, have fancied themselves free; but from the carcass of the oppressor the sun has caused a swarm of petty tyrants to spring up."

The French invasion of 1798 made an end of the old condition of affairs. The Helvetic Republic, modelled on the French Republic, established a central government and civil equality of all citizens. This was the first experience of a Swiss nation. It was also the origin of civil wars which lasted five years.* The revolutionary principle of unity and equality found few defenders outside the Vaudois, a people of French blood previously subject to Berne. The Bernese and the people of the mountain cantons resisted the new order of things with passionate energy.

Napoleon ended the war by imposing a compromise on the contending parties. The Act of Mediation of 1803 restored the sovereignty of the cantons by restricting the Diet to foreign and military affairs, and making the deputies subject to the instructions of their cantons. But he maintained equality by giving the title of Canton to the districts formerly recognised only as *allied*, and even to the subject districts; † also by requiring each canton to adopt a constitution in conformity with French principles—

*These contests, and the very interesting experiments in constitution-making in this period, are very clearly described in Hilty's "Oeffentliche Vorlesungen über die Helvetische Republik."

† The six new cantons were Aargau, Thurgau, Vaud, Ticino, Saint-Gall, and the Grisons.

civil equality, religious liberty, freedom of commerce and of domicile. The ancient little cantons of the High Alps retained their old assembly of the citizens (*Landsgemeinde*), meeting in the open air once a year to make their laws. The larger cantons adopted modern constitutions, with representative assemblies elected by the property owners. This new Switzerland had little political life, as it was dependent on Napoleon, whose chief concern with it was to get soldiers. (Ten thousand Swiss perished in the Russian campaign.) But at least the Swiss began under him an apprenticeship in individual liberty and equality, and in national spirit.

Period of the Restoration (1814-30).—When the allied armies entered Switzerland the partisans of the old *régime* rose to re-establish the old cantonal governments and the old league. They succeeded in gaining control, first in the aristocratic cantons of Berne and Soleure, then in the Catholic cantons, Freiburg, Lucerne, the three forest cantons, and Zug. At Berne the government that was in office in 1798 was restored, and declared the Act of Mediation null. The federal Diet was sitting in 1814 at Zurich (it alternated yearly between the six principal cities). The eight cantons favouring the reaction withdrew their representatives and formed a separate Diet at Lucerne. There they demanded a return to the old constitution. Berne and Uri demanded back their former subjects. Schwytz and Unterwalden aspired to go back to the beginning of Swiss history: the ancient agreements should first be renewed between the three forest cantons, then that with Lucerne, then those with the other cantons, in the order in which they had been made originally.

The new constitution was supported by the other cantons, especially by the new ones, whose very existence was threatened. Switzerland found herself divided into two hostile leagues, each represented by a Diet. Civil war was on the eve of breaking out. It was the sovereigns of Europe who stopped it and saved the work of Napoleon. The Tsar had had two Vaudois friends, Laharpe and Jomini; he declared himself against the restoration. The old *régime* governments, too weak to accomplish their objects without help, abandoned their claims on their former subjects, offering to accept a money indemnity. The allies gave Berne, by way of compensation, the district of Bienne and the old bishopric of Bâle, a Catholic country that had formed the French department of Mont-Terrible, and later became the Bernese Jura.

The eight seceding cantons returned to the Diet. Three new cantons, taken from the French Empire, were added—Geneva, Neuchâtel, and Valais. This Diet of 22 cantons laboured seventeen months in making a constitution—the Federal Pact of August 7, 1815, made after bitter contests regarding the old subject districts. The Great Powers ratified it, and guaranteed the neutrality of Switzerland—which might furnish occasion for interfering in its internal affairs.

The system established in 1815 differed little from the Act of Mediation. The cantons were sovereign, retaining all the powers not expressly given to the confederation. They had the postal service, the coinage, civil rights, and the power of making commercial treaties with foreign nations. The confederation had only diplomatic and military affairs and the settlement of difficulties between cantons. The Diet was not an assembly of representatives of the people, but a meeting of delegates from the cantonal governments.* It sat alternately in the three leading cantons, Berne, Zurich, and Lucerne. The canton in which its sessions were held in any given year was called the *Vorort;* its executive council acted as a federal executive for the time. Switzerland was not yet a federal state; it was a federation of states. Its constitution was only a "federal pact" between sovereign states. The inhabitants of one canton were not even given the right of residence in other cantons; for this, special agreements between the governments of the cantons were necessary. On this point the "Pact of 1815" returned to the old system.

Each canton settled at will its own internal constitution, each had its own special institutions. Neglecting minor differences we may classify the cantonal constitutions into five groups:

First. The little mountain cantons, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, the two halves of Appenzell, Zug, and Glarus, retained the old government by the *Landsgemiende,* or yearly open-air assembly of the men of the canton. This decided public questions and chose the executive officers.

Second. The ancient leagues—Grisons and Valais—remained subordinate confederations. The Grisons had a central *Grand Council* of 65 delegates—27 from the *Ligue Grise* (*Graubund*), 25

* The delegates were bound by their instructions, and their consent to measures was only provisional, *ad referendum, ad instruendum,* or *ad ratificandum.* Their sessions were secret.

from the *Ligue Cadée* (*Gotteshausbund*), and 13 from the League of the Ten Jurisdictions. These delegates had to follow the instructions of the districts they represented, each of which had an almost sovereign assembly. Valais was divided into 13 *Dizains*, each of which had a council elected by the communes; the power of the League was exercised by a Diet composed of four delegates from each dizain, and four votes for the Bishop of Sion.

Third. The old aristocratic cantons, Berne, Lucerne, Zurich, Freiburg, Soleure, Bâle, Schaffhausen, and Geneva, had commonly a Grand Council empowered to exercise the sovereign power and a Lesser Council for executive business—both usually composed of members of the old families.

Fourth. The new cantons, St. Gall, Aargau, Thurgau, Vaud, and Ticino had elected Councils, elected, however, by the property owners.

Fifth. Neuchâtel kept its Prince, the King of Prussia, who by the Constitutional Charter established two councils, the *Executive Council of State* and the *Audience General*—the latter made up in part of nominees of the Prince and in part of elected members.

Save in the mountain cantons, all the governments established political inequality between the inhabitants. The people of the chief-place, who made the constitutions, had followed a very old custom by so regulating the election of the councils as to give themselves always a majority against the rest of the canton, even where the rest of the canton far outnumbered them in population. Further, a majority of the members from the chief-place were, in the case of the aristocratic cantons, chosen by the old families. . .

In the new cantons, where the chief-place had not the habit of ruling, the constitutions established elective councils, giving roughly half of the members to the rest of the canton. But the difference of wealth gave inequality of power, according to a principle accepted at that time throughout Europe. The right of electing was reserved to the heavier taxpayers. Besides, there was systematic effort to limit the action of the voters by several devices. The representatives were chosen for very long periods, so as to make the elections as infrequent as possible. Indirect election was established. The election procedure was intentionally complicated. The Grand Council of Vaud was composed of 180 members elected for 12 years, and renewable by thirds; 63 chosen by the Grand Council itself from a list of candidates pre-

pared by the districts, 36 by a body of electors, 63 chosen directly by the voters, 18 elected by the district assemblies. The maxim of the Liberals of that day was: everything for the people, nothing by the people.

Every canton was supreme in questions of Church and school. Several forbade any form of worship other than that established by the state. Valais did not allow Protestant worship; Vaud did not allow Catholic worship. Even in the cantons that had religious toleration it was the clergy who controlled marriage and registered births and deaths.

Under these aristocratic and sectarian constitutions public activity was weak until about 1829. Some institutions—the Federal Military School of Thoune (1818), the Swiss Society of Natural Sciences, the Students' Association, and the Federal Shooting-matches—mark nevertheless the beginning of a better feeling between citizens of the different cantons. But the chief political business was the supervision of foreign refugees. Switzerland was an asylum for the proscribed. Newspapers hostile to the European governments were published there. The Great Powers made complaints, and the government of Berne induced the Diet to vote the "Conclusum" of 1823, which required the cantons to "prohibit in newspapers and periodicals everything that could offend the powers in friendly relations with Switzerland" and to prevent "persons escaped from another state, after having committed there offences against the public peace, from entering into, or sojourning upon, the territory of the confederation." Every foreigner was to furnish a certificate from the authorities of his own country. Several cantons even established a censorship of the press. This "conclusum," voted for a year, was renewed annually until 1829. This measure of Absolutist police was the only important federal act.

The Regeneration (1829-37).—In 1829 a series of agitations, revolutions, and civil wars began which lasted until the general war of 1847. The Swiss have called it the period of regeneration.

The Swiss, who, until that time, had received their political impulses from abroad, took themselves the initiative in constitutional reform. As early as 1829 a democratic party appeared which laboured to amend the constitutions of the cantons and then the constitution of the confederation. It was made up chiefly from the classes left out of account by the government and took presently the name of Radical party. The movement,

begun in 1829, was stimulated by the French Revolution of 1830. In nearly all the cantons the inhabitants gathered and drew up petitions asking for revision of the constitutions. Neither revolutions nor outbreaks were necessary; the governments were alarmed and granted revision.

The centre of the agitation was Zurich. A fugitive German professor, Snell, founded there a journal called the *Swiss Republican* and drew up the "memorial of Kussnach," which embodied the program of the party: sovereignty of the people, universal suffrage, and direct election.

One by one eleven cantons, the most populous, amended their constitutions peaceably. The Radical program demanded sovereignty of the people, universal suffrage, equality of rights, separation of the powers, publicity of the debates, liberty of the press, right of petition, freedom of opinion, of residence, and of industry. The revised constitutions admitted nearly all these principles. . . Exceptions worth noting were that Lucerne, Zurich, and Schaffhausen preserved the over-representation of the capital city, that Berne retained the property qualification for voting, and Freiburg retained indirect election.

The federal Diet had decided, December, 1830, not to intervene in any way in the constitutional changes of the cantons. It was forced, however, to intervene to restore order in the cantons where serious dissensions arose. In Schwytz, the external districts, having failed to gain equality, had seceded, and drawn up a constitution as a new canton; they even attempted to surprise the government garrison. The Diet condemned their action as a breach of the peace and sent federal troops to put them down. At Bâle, the government, composed of city people, having drawn up a constitution which accorded larger representation to the city than to the rural districts, the rural communes had voted against it: the government took revenge by withdrawing their right of self-government. The communes answered by declaring themselves independent of the city, and drawing up a constitution as a separate canton. The city resorted to military force to put down the movement; but the Diet supported the rural communes, and Bâle was divided into two sovereign half-cantons, Bâle-city and Bâle-country (1833).

The regenerated cantons wished the confederation to be regenerated also, in order to strengthen the federal government and proclaim the sovereignty of the people. The German cantons, taking the lead, formed, in March, 1832, the "Siebener-

concordat," a league of seven cantons for mutual defence against attempts at reaction. They pledged themselves to maintain the rights and liberties of the people, to sustain the lawful authorities and defend their new constitutions by force of arms. This league was to labour for a revision of the federal constitution, in order to have the cantonal constitutions protected by the federal government; the Concordat was to lapse when the confederation should have assumed this responsibility.

The cantons attached to the old system answered by a counter league, the Sarnerbund, formed November, 1832, between Neuchâtel, Bâle, Valais, and the three forest cantons. These agreed not to send their representatives to the Diet, in order to hinder revision. The Diet, where the regenerated cantons had a majority, dissolved the league and compelled the members of it to send their deputies as usual. Then it voted in favour of amending the constitution. A draft of the amendments was submitted to the cantons, but failed of adoption because the people in two of the regenerated cantons rejected them. No new draft was agreed on, and so the project of revision was abandoned. The main result of the movement was to lead the Diet to make its sessions public.

After the failure of revision the political life of the cantons was filled with confused movements. Three of these may be noted:

First. A new division of political parties came about. Till then the division was into Liberals and Conservatives; after the attempted revision the Liberals divided. The more eager wished to continue the revolution and establish political equality throughout Switzerland: these formed the Radical party, resting on the general mass of the voters. On the other hand, the men who, during the revision movement, had conducted the governments, regarded the revolution as ended and became the party of the *just mean*, opposing further changes: this was the party of the middle class, the statesmen, the jurists, and the educated classes in general.* But it failed to develop strength; it held aloof from political agitation and gradually lost its influence with the masses. The Radical party was managed by a general asso-

* Rohmers has expressed the views of this party in a theory, or rather a metaphor, which a well-known writer, Bluntschli, adopts in his work on *the state*: "There are four parties, corresponding to the four ages of man: two extremes—the *radical*, who is the ignorant child, the *absolutist*, who is the decrepit old man; two intermediate parties of political wisdom—the *liberal*, who is the young man, and the *conservative*, the mature man."

ciation, the *National Verein;* it went on agitating for revision and gathered to itself young men of the new generation.

Second. The reactions that followed, throughout the Continent, the movements of 1830, filled Switzerland with political refugees accused in their own countries of conspiracy. . . Demands for their expulsion led to contests in Switzerland, the Radicals supporting the refugees in the name of Swiss independence and democratic principles; the Liberals supported the demands of the foreign governments and, joining the Conservatives, carried through the Diet a provision for a central police to exercise surveillance over the refugees.

Third. A transformation came about in the Catholic cantons. A Catholic party was formed which put the religious question before political questions. It found its support not among the aristocratic Conservatives, but among the peasants, and avowed itself a democratic party. It sought, by the help of the rural voters, to deprive the Liberals of control.

Local Conflicts (1837-45).—Troubles broke out regarding ecclesiastical affairs. German Switzerland belonged, until 1815, to the diocese of Constance. The Swiss governments, unwilling to be subject to a foreign bishop, obtained, after long negotiations, the creation of six Swiss bishoprics directly subject to the Pope. Certain Liberal governments agreed in the Articles of Baden to place the relations between Church and state under sovereign control of the lay power. The Pope condemned the Articles as contrary to the constitution of the Church. There were outbreaks of the Catholic inhabitants against the commands of the Protestant governments in Aargau, Saint-Gall, and Bernese Jura.

In several cantons there were armed conflicts on various questions. There was a fight in Schwytz regarding the use of common pastures (Allmende). The owners of large cattle, nicknamed *Horns*, came to the Assembly of the canton armed with clubs; their opponents, the owners of small cattle, nicknamed Split-hoofs (Klauen) were unarmed. There was a vote, and the vote was doubted. The Horns dispersed the Split-hoofs with their clubs. There was a battle with guns in Ticino, and the Radicals won the day. In Valais the Radicals had long demanded equality of representation for Lower Valais; in 1838 they got proceedings started for a revision of the constitution. The Diet supported them and ordered the election of a convention to frame a constitution. Upper Valais, to save its privileges, wished to be made a separate canton, but this the Diet refused.

The new constitution was submitted to popular vote: Lower Valais gave a majority of 8000 in its favour; Upper Valais, according to its own claim, gave a majority of 10,770 votes against it. This was evidently a fraudulent claim. The Radicals of Lower Valais made an armed invasion of Upper Valais and forced it to accept the constitution (1840).

Of all the petty wars of the period the most characteristic is the "affray of Zurich." The Radical governments had called to the University of Zurich a German professor, the famous rationalist Strauss, author of the "Life of Jesus." The pastors, aroused, organized a *Committee of the Faith*, which demanded the recall of the appointment. The government retired Strauss, but declared that it could not allow the committee to hold communal assemblies. The committee protested and held a meeting of 15,000 persons. Early in the morning of September 6, 1839, four or five thousand men, brought together by the pastors of Pfaffikon, on the border of the lake, marched on Zurich. At their head were five hundred men armed with guns; the rest carried scythes and flails. During that year Zurich, as Vorort, was the seat of the Diet, and its council was therefore acting as the federal executive. To defend this government there were in the city only 190 foot soldiers and 30 horsemen. One volley was enough to stop the insurgents; but forthwith the troops were withdrawn to their barracks. The citizens responsible for the care of the arsenals handed them over to the insurgents and the members of the council resigned their offices. The insurgents, masters of Zurich, established a provisional council, which found itself invested with the federal executive power. Thus a petty cantonal insurrection sufficed to change the directory of the confederation.

Amid these conflicts the intermediate parties, Conservatives and Liberals, lost gradually their control of the cantons; power was passing to the two extreme parties. In the Protestant cantons the Radicals were taking the place of the old families.* In the Catholic cantons, the Democratic Catholic party was displacing the champions of lay sovereignty. The Jesuits directed

*At Geneva, Fazy, the Radical leader, had to make a coalition with the Catholics of the rural communes, in order to oust the patricians from the government. A rising was required in 1841 to obtain the constitutional convention that prepared the democratic constitution of 1842; a revolution was needed in 1846 to drive the patrician leaders from the councils and obtain the Constitution of 1847.

the movement, and took advantage of it to found colleges in Schwytz, Freiburg, and Lucerne. The party got control in Freiburg in 1837 and in Lucerne in 1841. By 17,555 votes against 1679 the people of Lucerne voted the Democratic Catholic constitution, giving the city and rural districts equal representation, abrogating the Articles of Baden, and suppressing lay supervision of schools. The new government submitted this constitution to the Pope for his approval. In Valais, after a bloody struggle, the victorious Catholics made a constitution which forbade all other forms of worship than the Catholic (1844).

The political forces gradually grouped themselves into two parties, the Catholics and their opponents, without reference to cantonal lines. The Protestant government of Aargau, after a Catholic outbreak in opposition, suppressed the eight convents in the canton; the Catholics got a decision from the Diet annulling the action as contrary to the federal constitution. Aargau accepted, in 1843, a compromise re-establishing the convents for women; but in 1844 it demanded of the Diet the expulsion of the Jesuits. Battalions of volunteers were formed in Lucerne, and armed from the federal arsenals, to oppose the Catholic government; they were commanded by Ochsenbein, later chief of the staff in the federal army. Twice they marched upon the city, but were beaten (1844-45). The government of Lucerne condemned such of them as were captured to punishment as ordinary criminals.

The Sonderbund and the Civil War (1845-47).—The Swiss were divided into two extreme parties, ready for war with each other. The Catholic party gave official form to the division by forming a Separate Union (Sonderbund) between the seven Catholic cantons, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, Lucerne, Freiburg, and Valais (1845). These cantons agreed, "in case one or more of their number should be attacked, to repel the attack in common"; they represented their action as taken "in defence of their sovereignty and territorial rights"; their league as a defensive one, modelled on the ancient alliances. They instituted a council of war of seven delegates which should take the necessary measures to defend the cantons. Each canton contributed to the defence fund in the proportion of its federal burdens.

The Radical party called on the Diet to expel the Jesuits and dissolve the Sonderbund. This meant war. Several cantons hesitated; in order to obtain a majority in the Diet, the Radicals

laboured to overturn the cantonal governments that wished to remain neutral. They made the expulsion of the Jesuits the primary question of Swiss politics. Taking advantage of the unpopularity of the Jesuits to compromise the governments suspected of favouring them, they succeeded in getting into power in Vaud, Berne, Geneva, and Saint-Gall. The control of the votes of these cantons gave them a majority in the federal Diet. They carried through the Diet an order dissolving the Sonderbund, and a vote asking the cantons to expel the Jesuits. The cantons of the Sonderbund decided to resist, and recalled their deputies from the Diet.

The Diet gave the direction of the war to General Dufour, a Conservative. In November, 1847, he had 100,000 men and 172 cannons. The *Sonderbund* had only 30,000 men and 74 cannons. But they counted on the weakness of the Diet, the ease of defence in their mountains, and the likelihood of intervention from without. The four great powers (Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France) promised to intervene for the maintenance of the Pact of 1815 and the sovereignty of the cantons placed under their guarantee. The council of war of the Sonderbund received 400,000 florins from Austria and 3000 guns and some cannon from Louis Philippe. The Diet, having received from the English government a secret intimation that the great powers were going to intervene, ordered that operations should be rapidly pushed. Dufour, concentrating all his forces, marched on Freiburg, which yielded without fighting (November 14), then on Zug, then on Lucerne. The army of the Sonderbund dispersed, and Lucerne was taken November 24. The forest cantons had no choice but to capitulate. Later Valais was reduced to submission. The campaign had lasted only three weeks. The offer of mediation by the European powers did not arrive till all was over.

The *Sonderbund* war was a war of principles between a centralizing lay policy and a cantonal sectarian policy. The Jesuits and other religious orders were expelled from each canton occupied by the federal troops. Then the people were compelled to admit the Radicals to power, to withdraw from the Sonderbund, and amend the cantonal constitution. At Freiburg, the new Council, taken from the Radical minority, amended the constitution and governed the canton, contrary to democratic principles, without consulting the mass of the people, who were known to be hostile to the revolution.

The Radicals, by defeating the Catholics, acquired the mastery of Switzerland, and have continued to hold it.

The Federal Constitution of 1848.—The victorious Radicals reorganized Switzerland according to their own ideas. The Diet appointed a committee to draft a new constitution—the Constitution of 1848. This established a Federal State (*Bundesstaat*) instead of the Federation of States (*Staatenbund*) created by the Pact of 1815. It retained the formula "The people of the 22 *sovereign* Cantons form the Swiss Confederation" and copied from the discarded Articles of Confederation of the United States the assertion that the Cantons are sovereign and exercise all the rights not conferred on the federal power. But it required the cantons to ask of the Confederation the guarantee of their constitutions, and determined the conditions to which these must conform:

1. That these constitutions shall contain nothing contrary to the provisions of the federal constitution.

2. That they shall insure the enjoyment of political rights according to republican forms (representative or democratic).

3. That they shall have been accepted by the people, and shall have a provision for amendment when demanded by a majority of the voters.

All political alliances are forbidden between the cantons.

There are thus principles and political forms binding for all the Swiss, a supreme federal public law which gives political unity to Switzerland. This supreme law conforms to Radical doctrine; it tolerates none but republican governments (Neuchâtel declares itself independent of the King of Prussia), democratic governments resting on universal suffrage, republics in which the constitution must be submitted to popular vote, and must be open to amendment on demand of the majority. The Swiss's country is no longer only his canton but all Switzerland. Before 1848 any person expelled from his canton became *heimatslos*, a man without a country; henceforth every Swiss enjoys civil rights throughout the whole extent of the Confederation. The federal constitution guarantees to him equality of rights, freedom of marriage, of commerce, of industry, of the press, of association, and of worship.

The constitution divides the powers between the canton and the Confederation. The canton retains its power of legislation in civil and penal matters, in affairs of police, public worship, education, public highways, military service, in the appointment of

officers, and in taxation; but it is subject to the federal [redacted] Confederation has power to manage foreign relations, customs duties, postal affairs, and the coinage. Hence Switzerland has some institutions in common—one postal system, one tariff (all internal customs duties were abolished), one federal coinage, one federal system of weights and measures (the French metric system), a federal army directed by a central general staff. The Swiss army, reorganized in the revision of 1874, is a national force, recruited by a universal compulsory service for short terms (42 to 80 days). Young men pass in it only the time necessary for learning to manage arms and to execute military movements, under the command of officers who remain ordinary citizens.

The new constitution institutes three organs of government, invested with the three powers recognised by the theories in vogue at that time. The Federal Assembly exercises "the legislative power." The Federal Council, composed of seven members elected for three years by the Assembly, holds "the executive power"; each of the seven takes charge of a department; one of the seven, designated each year by the Assembly, acts as President of the Council. The Federal Tribunal, elected by the Assembly, has "the judicial power," but has not the right, as in America, to disregard legislative acts that are, in its judgment, contrary to the constitution.

The Federal Assembly is not a single body representing the Swiss people, as the democratic school demanded; it is composed, on the model of the United States, of two Chambers: the National Council, elected directly by all the voters, in the proportion of one for every 20,000 inhabitants; and the Council of States (Ständerath), composed of two members from each canton. For the election of the Federal Council and the judges of the Federal Tribunal the two houses meet as one body. The members of both councils receive pay for their services, the members of the Council of States receiving it from their cantons. The federal government has a fixed residence assigned to it, the city of Berne, which becomes the federal capital.

By its tenderness for the forms of cantonal sovereignty, and by the division of the Federal Assembly, the Constitution of 1848 is a compromise between the traditional independence of the cantons and the ideal of centralization urged by the Radical party. The Committee of Revision expressed this point clearly in its report: "If Switzerland is no longer in the condition for

which the Pact of 1815 was instituted, no more is it in a condition suitable for a unitary government—a new Helvetic Republic. . . . Whatever advance the national spirit may have made, the cantonal spirit is still deeply ingrained in Switzerland. The unitary system might perhaps be introduced, but it could not be maintained. . ."

The constitution was submitted to popular vote and was declared to have been adopted by the people of fifteen cantons and one half-canton. In this number Freiburg is included, although there had been no popular vote there—the Radical Council undertaking to answer for the people (see p. 268). In four cantons, where a majority of the votes actually cast was against the new constitution, a majority in its favour was made out by adding to the minority voting *yes* the votes of those who had failed to take part in the election.*

The Swiss nation dates from the Constitution of 1848. The unity established by the Radicals has not been disputed; civil wars have ceased; † the Swiss of all the cantons have become accustomed to regard each other as fellow-countrymen, and to govern themselves according to the same democratic spirit. Coinciding with the introduction of railways, the constitution ushered in a period of unwonted prosperity. The people of Switzerland, proverbial up to that date for rustic qualities, have since made themselves notable for their manufactures, for the comfort everywhere observable among them, for the perfection of their schools and for their political training. The population has increased from 2,390,000 in 1850 to 3,300,000 in 1896.

Establishment of Direct Popular Legislation.—After 1848 the history of Switzerland is no longer made up of revolutions, risings, and civil wars: these are replaced by amendments of the constitution. From 1830 to 1873 there were eighty-three constitutional changes in the cantons, and the movement still goes on. All the cantonal constitutions have been remodelled; there remains now only one of earlier date than 1848; the oldest, that of Berne, made in 1846, was modified in 1893.

The thing that gives interest to this movement is a phenomenon unique in history—the experiment of direct legislative action by the people. This has been introduced in two forms—

* The four were Schwytz, Zug, Valais, and Lucerne. All the Catholic cantons had given majorities against the new constitution.

† The only exceptions have been the royalist attempt in Neuchâtel in 1856, and certain fights in the Italian canton of Ticino.

the Initiative and the Referendum. The Initiative is the right granted to any sufficiently numerous group of citizens to propose a change of law, and to require the government to submit the question to the judgment of the people. The *Referendum* is the right given to the people to have a direct vote on any bill passed by the legislature. These two contrivances aim to give the people a direct voice in the making of laws; they constitute a system wholly new in Europe. In the representative governments of European states, the people have only a general political power; they are only choosers of men to govern. In all the Swiss cantons, since 1848, the people, in addition to this right of choosing their governing agents, have the right of collaborating in making the constitution, and in many cantons in the passage of laws.

In order to understand the very complicated history of this innovation, we must rigorously distinguish: 1. Between the *Initiative* and the *Referendum;* 2. Between constitutions and laws; 3. Between federal and cantonal institutions.

Initiative and Referendum in Changing the Constitution.—The Radicals, as early as 1830, laid down the principle that the people alone have the right to ordain their constitution; that a representative assembly ought not exercise this power, its only function being to draw up a draft for acceptance by the people. This principle came down from the Helvetic Republic of 1798, which got it from the French republicans in the *plébiscite* of ratification. All the cantonal constitutions made after 1830 declared the approval of the people to be essential for establishing or amending a constitution (Freiburg, the sole exception, did not adopt the doctrine till 1857).

This principle of popular sovereignty led, by inevitable consequence, to the right of *Initiative.* This is, at bottom, the right to demand that the people be allowed to say whether they wish a change of constitution. In most of the constitutions made from 1830 to 1848 the doctrine is not found; the representative assemblies have the right of proposing changes. Only a few cantons (Schaffhausen, Aargau, Bâle-country) ordained that a petition from a certain number of citizens should oblige the government to consult the people. Further, the "men of the just mean" (p. 264), partisans of constitutional stability, who had drafted most of the new constitutions, had inserted in them a clause prohibiting changes till after the lapse of a certain period. The result was to compel the people to violate the constitutions

by bringing about changes before the end of the term set. The right of initiative thus became recognised as the Radicals obtained sway.

In 1848 the federal constitution made the Radical doctrine public law in Switzerland. It declared that every constitution needs to be accepted by the people (this is the *Referendum*) and ought to have a provision for amendment "when a majority of the citizens demand it" (this is the *Initiative*). Some cantons later made the initiative easier to exercise by providing that a certain number of citizens might present a demand for revision.

The principles laid down for the cantonal constitutions by this Constitution of 1848 were applied to the federal system also. The federal constitution was submitted for the approval of the people, and did not go into effect until it had been accepted by a majority both of the voters and of the cantons. It could be changed at any time on the initiative of 50,000 voters (in 1874 this number was reduced to 30,000). It was not thought necessary in 1848 to provide for the case of single amendments; an amendment was adopted in 1891 which obliges the federal government to submit to popular vote any amendment proposed by 50,000 voters. So a constitutional amendment drawn up by a private individual and indorsed by 50,000 voters must be presented for the judgment of the whole body of citizens, no matter what the opinion of the Assembly; and if it receives a majority of the voters and of the cantons, it becomes part of the constitution. (A canton is held to approve if its voters give a majority in favour.)

Initiative and Referendum in Ordinary Legislation.—Direct intervention in making ordinary laws does not seem at first blush a necessary consequence of popular sovereignty. The representative legislature is regarded as the lawmaking power. So the evolution was slower here than in the case of the constitution.

The first movement was made in 1831 by the council charged with drawing up a constitution for St. Gall, and it was made in the name of a philosophic theory. Major Diog, a disciple of Hegel, demanded for the people the right of ratifying the laws. "For me," he said, "the main question is on what principle our work ought to proceed. I know but one principle—the sovereignty of the people. The sovereign is supreme; his will is law. I hear of a representative sovereignty, but persons exercising a delegated power are not sovereign. We have heard that the people are to control their own affairs; but if the Grand Council

is to be a guardian over them, they have not such control." When the advantages of the representative system were urged in reply, he answered: "There is a tendency here to take the welfare of the people as the fundamental principle; but the question is of rights, not of welfare. If it were of welfare we might be told that constitutional monarchy would be best." The debate ended in a compromise. It was decided that all laws passed by the Grand Council should be subject to the approval of the people; but only if this were demanded within a certain time. This potential or optional referendum was called the *veto*, in memory of the Roman Tribunes. But in this timid form the legislative Referendum had no great success in Saint-Gall: there were 9190 voters in favour of the constitution and 11,091 against it; 12,692 voters failed to cast their votes. These latter were treated as having voted *yes*, and the constitution was declared adopted.

The *veto*, introduced at Lucerne in 1841, was compromised in the eyes of the Radicals by the use the Catholic party made of it. It reappeared under the name of the Referendum. This was an old word with a new meaning. In the old Swiss Confederation and in the Grisons and Valais, which were themselves federations, the delegates were simply agents, not sovereign legislators. In the federal Diet they discussed but did not decide; they met *ad audiendum et referendum*, to *hear* propositions and *refer* them to their constituents. In popular usage the word *referendum* came to mean the decision given by the people on the propositions brought to them by their envoys. This old *referendum* disappeared; the Grisons, which kept it till 1853, was compelled by the federal government to discontinue it as contrary to the Constitution of 1848, because the votes were counted by communes and not by the simple number of individuals for and against. But the word referendum had begun to be used for the right of the people to reject the acts passed by their representatives.

At first there was only the optional *referendum*. Any act passed by the representative assembly was binding: the people had simply the right of demanding that it be put to general vote; and they could only accept or reject the whole act. The optional *referendum* was still only the *veto*.

The small ancient cantons of the mountains had from time immemorial practised direct government by the assembled people (*Landsgemeinde*). Once a year the people gathered in the open air on a spot consecrated by tradition. The government pre-

sented bills and the people voted on them by show of hands; thus the people made their laws directly. The government had not even the exclusive right of proposing bills; any citizen had the right to propose a bill, and a vote of the people was enough to make it a law. (In Uri it was requisite that seven citizens of seven different families should unite in proposing). Six cantons retained this system till 1848. But it was practicable only with a small body of citizens deciding very simple questions. Schwytz and Zug replaced it by a representative assembly. The general meeting has been preserved in two cantons, Uri and Glaris, and in four half-cantons, the two Unterwaldens and the two Appenzells.

In practice the optional *referendum* was little more than a fiction; the right of the people to the legislative power was affirmed in principle, but it was only on special occasions that the right was brought into play; the laws continued to be made by the representative assembly. The cantons having the *Landsgemeinde* were the only ones in which the people voted directly on all legislation. There was much hesitation in the other cantons about giving the people the means of really expressing their judgment on all proposed laws. A beginning was timidly made with a *referendum* confined to financial affairs. On the occasion of building a railway, Neuchâtel, in 1858, made the referendum obligatory for any appropriation of 500,000 francs or upwards; Valais adopted it in 1861 for any sum exceeding a million of francs. The first complete experiment of the obligatory referendum in the passage of laws was made by Bâle-country, a half-canton: its Constitution of 1863 ordained that twice a year the government must submit to vote of the citizens all laws and decrees of general concern.

Side by side with the movement leading to the obligatory referendum, the Radical party had carried on an agitation for the right of popular Initiative. The idea first appeared in the canton of Vaud, in connection with the change of constitution of 1845. There were there, it was said, especially among the workingmen of Vevey, revolutionists connected with the French secret societies of the time; their opponents reproached them with reading Buonarotti and with holding communistic principles. These men proposed to provide in the new constitution for the "Organization of Labour." The council which drew up the constitution rejected the idea; but it took a new step in the direction of popular initiative, by providing that any measure urged by

8000 citizens should be examined by the Grand Council and submitted to the assemblies of the communes.

The Initiative was adopted in 1848 by the two cantons which abolished their *Landsgemeinde* (Schwytz and Zug); in 1852 it was adopted by Aargau. It began at that time to be regarded as the complement of the referendum. Bâle-country, in 1863, gave to any 1500 voters the right to propose changes of law. The people thus got, not only the right to reject measures proposed by others, but to propose measures themselves. From that time onward the two institutions, the Initiative and the Referendum, were ordinarily advocated by the same party, and were incorporated together in every new constitution. Both rest on the principle of direct government by the people. The voters are not only the makers of constitutions—they are the true lawmakers, proposing laws by the initiative and adopting them by the referendum.

This system has step by step won acceptance in all the cantons—sometimes in the incomplete form of optional referendum, or with a restriction to financial measures. The decisive success was at Zurich's revision of her constitution in 1869. The committee managing the reform movement, in demanding the referendum and initiative, had stated the case succinctly: "The question is of converting our apparent sovereignty into a real sovereignty of the people, to transfer the dominant power and force from the hands of a few to the strong shoulders of the community." The people supported the proposal. In the convention called to draw up the new constitution, Suter, a Liberal, proposed to confine themselves to the *veto*. Someone made answer: "In the ship of state, as Suter would arrange matters, the Grand Council would hold the tiller while the sovereign, on the wharf, would watch it directing the ship. That is contempt of the people, of its ability to manage the ship of state. We, on the contrary, have full confidence in the people. The referendum and initiative are new rights. . . In opposition to the representative system, a new period of direct democratic legislation by the people has begun. And Mr. Suter has just told us that the Grand Council is, in the first instance, the holder of the legislative power, the people being only auxiliaries in the work. We, on the contrary, say that the legislative power resides in the people, and in exercising the power, they use the help of the Grand Council."

The Constitution of 1869 dropped the title of Grand Council,

and declared that the people of Zurich exercise the legislative power, "with the assistance of the Cantonal Council." The Cantonal Council has no other function than to prepare bills. Every bill presented by the initiative of 5000 citizens or supported by one-third of the members of the Cantonal Council, is required to be submitted to the people. Twice a year the people assemble by communes and vote on all such bills. The bills are divided into three categories: 1. Constitutional amendments, laws, concordats. 2. Bills which the Council is incompetent to pass definitively. 3. Bills which the Council is empowered to enact, but which it prefers to submit to popular vote.*

This system was quickly adopted by most of the other large German cantons, Thurgau, Soleure, Berne (without the initiative), Lucerne in 1869. It was computed that in 1860 1,030,000 inhabitants of Switzerland lived under a purely representative system, and that in 1870 the number was only 330,000.

The movement has gone on, but more slowly. In 1889 there remained but one canton, Freiburg, without any form of direct popular action in making laws. There were still four cantons retaining the *Landsgemeinde*, six and a half cantons having the obligatory referendum and initiative, four and a half having the initiative and optional referendum, and six having restricted forms of the one or the other.

Federal Constitutional Changes.—The Radicals, while establishing the legislative referendum in the cantons, were urging its introduction into the federal system also. The first effort to carry the point failed; amendments embodying the scheme were rejected by the people in 1865. In 1869 a majority of the National Council voted that the constitution ought to be brought "into harmony with the needs of the time." As in 1848, the Radical party wished to increase the powers of the federal government. The draft of a constitution approved by the two Houses in 1872 placed under federal control the civil law, railroads, public schools, liberty of worship, emigration agencies, insurance, etc. It also established the referendum and the initiative.

Then appeared an opposition, alive since 1798 but overshadowed by the struggle for democratic institutions, be-

* In the German cantons, where the politicians are educated in the German public law, little attention is paid to the distinction between the constitution and ordinary laws. This is particularly true of constitutional amendments.

tween those desiring a strong national government and the champions of cantonal rights. The National or Unitary party is made up in the main from the German Protestant cantons; being radical and free from clerical domination, it inclines to unify the institutions of all Switzerland and to intervene in the government of the cantons to establish purely lay education. The Cantonalist party is made up of two sets of men, who dislike the federal power for two different reasons. The French Protestant cantons, radical and free from clerical control, wish to preserve their administrative autonomy and their Latin customs, which they believe to be threatened by the German majority. The Catholic cantons, though almost exclusively German, defend clerical control of the schools against the German Radicals.

In 1872 the coalition of the French and Catholic cantons defeated the new constitution: the vote stood 256,000 voters and 9 cantons in favour, 260,000 voters and 13 cantons against. The National Council at once drafted a new scheme, in which, to conciliate the French cantons, private law was omitted from the subjects under federal jurisdiction, and the cantons retained control of their troops; but the referendum and the provision for secular schools were retained: "The cantons shall provide for public schools, which shall be adequate and placed exclusively under the control of the civil authority. Education shall be compulsory, and, in the public schools, gratuitous. The public schools shall be so conducted as to be capable of being attended by the adherents of all religions. The Confederation shall take measures against any canton not fulfilling this obligation." This time the French cantons joined the German ones; the Catholics were left alone. The Constitution of 1874 was adopted by 340,000 votes and 14½ cantons in favour, against 198,000 votes and 7½ cantons opposed. There were 214 voters for every 1000 inhabitants—an exceptional proportion. The constitution established the referendum in the optional form—the request of 30,000 voters being required in order to have any given bill put to the popular vote. It had no provision for the initiative, even in proposing amendment of the constitution.

The federal referendum instituted in 1874 has been frequently used and has caused the rejection of a number of bills after their passage by the legislative bodies. It has been used as a means of bringing a coalition between the two minority parties, the French and the Catholic, against the German majority of Protestant Radicals. In 1882 the federal assembly passed a bill es-

tablishing a Secretary of Education to watch over the execution of the constitutional clauses relating to schools; the referendum was demanded on it by 188,000 signatures, and at the general vote it was rejected by 316,000 votes against 175,000.

The constitution has not been revised as a whole since 1874, but several amendments have been made. These were proposed by the federal Assembly and voted by the people. Up to 1891 there were five so proposed and adopted: (1) To restore to the cantons the right of inflicting capital punishment (1879); (2) To permit the establishment of a federal monopoly in the manufacture and sale of alcohol, 1885; (3) To place copyright under federal control, 1887; (4) To give the federal government a monopoly of issuing paper currency, 1891; (5) Giving any 50,000 voters the right to propose amendments of the constitution, 1891.

The fifth of these amendments has worked a profound transformation by greatly increasing the direct control of the citizens over the government. It has led in practice to the establishment, under a disguise, of the popular initiative not only in constitutional but also in legislative changes. For, since no clear distinction is made between the constitution and ordinary laws, the demand of 50,000 citizens compels the government to submit to popular vote as a constitutional amendment, any measure whatsoever; and if the people adopt it, it goes into effect. Thus, in 1893, the popular initiative was used by the Anti-Semites to propose and carry a constitutional amendment forbidding the bleeding of animals in the manner practised in certain Jewish rites.* "When the Swiss democracy was induced to take this leap in the dark, nobody dreamed of the unlimited scope of this new popular right. The reputation of the Swiss for intelligence and democratic maturity . . . is going to be put to the rudest test" (Borgeaud).

Transformations of the Political Parties since 1848.—The decisive victory of the Radicals in 1848 set all the institutions of

* We are not without examples in this country of confusion between matters proper to the constitution and matters for ordinary legislative action. With us the mass of somewhat petty provisions in the newer State constitutions is primarily due to distrust of the legislative bodies—not to any theoretic hankerings for popular initiative. In Switzerland the original Federal Constitution of 1874 sets the example of descending to many trivial matters which have no proper place in a constitution: it is not to be wondered at that, with theories of popular initiative to be gratified, later amendments and the new cantonal constitutions should go farther afield in the same direction.—TR.

Switzerland upon a course of democratic evolution which became very pronounced after the change of 1874 and which has already led to a direct government by the citizens. No civilized people has yet gone so far in this path. But this triumph of Radical policy has not resulted in giving the Radical leaders constant possession of power in all the cantons. Under the new institutions the old parties have succeeded in regaining control. In order to give themselves a fighting chance in the contest with the Radicals, they accepted the democratic constitutions voted by the people, without any attempt to return to the previous system. They attacked, not the principles, but the administration of the Radicals.

During the years of reaction following 1848 the Conservatives and Liberals regained power in several cantons (Berne, Bâle-city) and the Catholic party reconquered all the Catholic cantons. The Radical party ordinarily retained the majority in the federal bodies and in the Protestant cantons. But it maintained its hold only by vigilant resistance to the three opposing parties, sometimes in coalition. These contests at the elections for the possession of power, combined with the movement for direct government, have kept contemporary Switzerland in heated political excitement; but, except in the Italian canton of Ticino, agitation has always been kept within peaceful limits and carried on by methods accepted by all.

The history of these contests is further complicated by the coalitions and changes of party names. (At Geneva the old Conservatives became the Independents, and later the Democratic party.) I confine myself here to indicating the general development of the parties.

The Protestant Conservatives have become few in number and hardly count any more. In the Protestant cantons even the Church has been given a democratic organization; neither pastors nor communicants are held to a profession of faith; in several German cantons all the pastors are elected for a limited period. The political struggle in the Protestant cantons lay between the Liberals and Radicals; in those that are French the Radicals maintain their power, whereas in the German ones there has been an oscillation rather than a definite preponderance of either party.

The Catholic party has been reconstituted in all the Catholic districts, often under a democratic name. Its policy has been to gain a majority by appealing to Catholic sentiment and to

cantonal patriotism against the federal government controlled by the Protestants and the enemies of ecclesiasticism. The federal constitution of 1848 had abolished all that still remained of the old ecclesiastical *régime* in the cantons, suppressing all power of the clergy and all church taxes. But it did not impose a complete separation of Church and state; every canton retained its recognised churches; the government settled the relations with the Church and supervised the clergy. It also prescribed and supervised the work of the schools. On these two matters, Church and schools, the Catholic party made its contest.

It tried to get laws passed establishing liberty of the Church, —that is to say, abolishing State supervision of the clergy,— or, at the least, to get men elected who would not exercise the right of supervision. It tried to keep the primary schools under the control of the priests and to maintain in them Catholic teaching—also, perhaps, to prevent the rigorous application of the provision making education compulsory. The proportion of children going to school in the Protestant cantons (1 in 5) is in fact almost double that of the Catholic cantons (1 in 9). In the mixed cantons the proportion falls between these figures.

The Catholic party kept the power in the 7½ cantons that made the Sonderbund: all of these rejected the new Constitution of 1874. Of all the Catholic cantons Ticino is the only one in which the Liberal-Radical party has been able to dispute the possession of power with the Conservative Catholic party. In the mixed cantons the Catholic party is steadily in the minority and in dogged opposition to the government. These cantons are Geneva, Berne, Soleure, Thurgau, St. Gall, Bâle-country; Appenzell is divided into two half-cantons, the one Protestant and the other Catholic.

After the Vatican Council of 1870 the Catholic opposition took the form of an open conflict. The Old Catholics, rejecting the doctrine of Infallibility, separated themselves from the general body of those in communion with Rome. The Protestant governments of the cantons, holding the decrees of the Vatican Council to be null, recognised the Old Catholics as having the same rights as those who accepted the decrees, and undertook to maintain in the Church those Old Catholic priests who had been excommunicated by their bishop. In the canton of Geneva, belonging to the diocese of Freiburg, the quarrel connected itself with a previous conflict of powers. The Pope had instituted a vicar-

general for the canton in spite of the government. In St. Gall it took the form of a strife with the Jesuits.

The struggle began between the governments and the bishops. The bishop of Soleure was deprived and banished: the Pope, nearly all the priests, and the great majority of the Catholic laity protested. Then the question of sovereignty came to the front: Does the right to regulate the ecclesiastical organization belong to the Church or to the civil power? Some of the governments (Berne, Soleure, Aargau, Geneva) settled the question by getting the people to adopt a sort of civil constitution of the clergy which altered the territorial divisions without consulting the Pope, and established election of the priests by the laity. The Catholics called on the federal government to protect their religious liberty, but the federal government declared that the cantons had not exceeded their constitutional power. Then came a conflict between Switzerland and the Holy See. The Pope censured the cantons publicly; the federal government sent away the Pope's nuncio; the Catholics refused to vote in the election of priests (1873). The Old Catholics, organized into a "Catholic-Christian Church," became, as a result, the official Catholic Church. The conflict ended in a schism; in Bernese Jura troops were employed to put down Catholic outbreaks against the schismatic priests. The strife lasted till after the election of Leo XIII. in 1878.

The new generation which has assumed the direction of the Catholic party in these later years has dropped this contest regarding the powers of the state and the Church. A Catholic Democratic party has been formed which uses the referendum as a weapon against the centralizing measures of the Radicals. This party has even begun to demand social reforms. The Catholic Congress of 1894 voted to organize itself into a Catholic People's party; and it founded a free society of Swiss Sociologists composed of Catholics.

In the only Catholic canton in which the power of the Catholic party has been disputed (Ticino), the violent contests between the Catholic Conservatives and the Radical-Liberals led finally to a civil war, followed by the adoption of proportional representation—a change that may be the beginning of a new evolution in Swiss institutions. The two parties were about equal in numbers, but the Conservatives, in order to maintain their hold on power, had "gerrymandered" the electoral districts in such a way as to make sure of a majority of the representatives. They refused to submit to the people the question of changing the con-

stitution (1890). The Liberals rose in insurrection, ousted the Conservative office-holders, and established a provisional government. The federal authorities, compelled to intervene, induced the two parties to accept a new electoral system, long advocated by theoretical writers as a mode of protecting minorities. Instead of giving all the seats to the party having the majority in the district, the representation is shared between the parties in the proportion in which they share the popular vote. Proportional representation, adopted in Ticino in 1891, has later been introduced in Neuchâtel, Geneva, and Zug. Its champions are agitating for its adoption throughout Switzerland.

A Socialist agitation has also been developed since the change of constitution in 1874. Switzerland remains the asylum for political refugees; for the proscribed Germans of 1849, the proscribed French Republicans of 1851, the Italian exiles, the Russian Liberals and Revolutionists, the refugees of the Paris Commune, the German Socialists. In Switzerland the International has held nearly all its "congresses"; there the German Socialists, during the existence of the exceptional laws against them, resumed the publication of their suppressed journals and held their first "congress" (1880). The radical governments of the cantons and the federal government sustained the tradition, except against the demands of the German Empire. After protesting against the presence of the German spies (the Wohlgemuth case), the Federal Council so far yielded as to expel the editors of the Socialist journal. Their action was taken only against refugees suspected of plotting the use of explosives—the Russian Nihilists and the Anarchists.

But all these agitations were the work of foreigners; the Swiss themselves have held aloof from revolutionary societies. A league of workingmen, formed in 1873, was dissolved in 1880, for want of support. The "Swiss Social Democratic party," modelled after the German society, has hitherto received but few adherents.

The only group with socialistic tendencies which has had any influence on political life in Switzerland is the *Grütli Union*, a democratic society founded in 1838, composed chiefly of Swiss artisans, but little by little impregnated with Socialistic ideas, through contact with foreign Socialists. Controlling enough votes to set in motion the Federal referendum and initiative, the Union has demanded social reforms. It has carried through laws regarding inspection of factories and the liability of em-

ployers, and instituting a Secretary of Labour (the secretary has been a Socialist leader). It has even, in its official program, substituted the words *Social Democracy* for its old name Liberal Democracy; it has demanded for labourers legal protection against arbitrary dismissal by their employers, and a "Democratic organization of factory labour." It obtained in 1894 the submission to popular vote of a bill guaranteeing to every Swiss citizen "the right to an employment sufficiently remunerative"; the bill was rejected by 308,000 votes against 75,000.

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CHAPTER X.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

THE Iberian peninsula, in the eighteenth century, was still divided between two states: the great Kingdom of Spain and the little Kingdom of Portugal. Both kingdoms were governed by the same general methods. Each had an absolute King who let his favourites rule without restraint; each had a National Church, which owned great estates, and was armed with the Inquisition against heretics. In both, the Church had a censorship over all publications and the right of supervision over all the schools. Both suffered in the nineteenth century the same series of revolutions; both were at length organized into constitutional monarchies. The two evolutions are parallel, so that we might consider their history together. It will, however, be more clear if we examine separately first Spain, then Portugal.

SPAIN.

Spain at the End of the Napoleonic Wars.—Spain until the French invasion was an absolutist and ecclesiastical monarchy. The former little kingdoms, united to form the Spanish monarchy, still existed in name (Castile, Leon, Galicia, Asturia, Navarre, Aragon, Valencia, and the kingdoms of Andalusia), but they were nothing more than provinces ruled directly by the Castilian government. The old assemblies of estates (the Cortes) were no longer convoked. The descendants of the aristocracy, the Spanish grandees, had been thrust aside. There remained but one political power, the King.

The King had centralized all authority in his own person, but he had ceased to exercise it himself; he left it to his court. It was neither the old *Castilian Council* nor his ministerial cabinet that governed in his stead. It was the sovereign's immediate circle, his wife, his confessor, his favourite, or his wife's favourite, that governed Spain in the King's name. This little group was called the *camarilla* or little chamber. Thus during the reign of Charles IV. the real sovereign was the Queen's favourite, Godoy, created Prince of Peace.

The Church alone preserved the privileges and powers of former times. It retained its immense domains almost without taxes, its right to acquire property by *mortmain*, its convents, and its ecclesiastical courts. It kept up the court of the Inquisition and its control of family relations, which gave it authority over the private life of all laymen. Its censorship of all publications made it supreme over the nation's intellectual life.

There were thus in Spain but two real powers, the *camarilla* and the clergy. The Spanish submitted to this twofold despotism without thought of saving themselves from it, at least without the power to do so. The idea and the means of reforming their government came from outside. In Spain, as in Holland and Switzerland, an invasion began the work of regeneration.

The French invasion, by destroying the old Spanish system, compelled the Spaniards to try a new one; it was the decisive event in their history. Napoleon, by setting up in Madrid a French King, placed before Spain the alternative of accepting or fighting him. Those who rallied to the French King's support, the *afrancesados*, made acquaintance with an absolutist and military government, but one directed by regular officials and free from the power of the clergy. The patriots, rising against foreign dominion, continued to declare themselves subjects of the national King, "Ferdinand the Idolized"; but as their King was imprisoned in France, they had to fight and govern themselves without him. The old system was gone with the Bourbon King; there was no longer a *camarilla* nor an Inquisition nor a censorship. In place of the lost government the patriots organized another, while at the same time they improvised militia and *guerrillas*.

The movement came from the provinces farthest from the court, Asturia, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Andalusia. The provinces began once more to take a part in political life. They formed at first provincial *juntas*, then a central *junta*, and finally the Cortes of 1811. These improvised governments and armies brought into public life energetic men who were previously unknown. The English of Wellington's army were astonished at the opening of the Cortes; they had not thought it possible that Spain could produce so many brilliant men. Thus during the invasion a body of politicians and military officers was created to take the direction of affairs. These men, educated like all Spaniards, had no political knowledge; but as reading and

speech were now unrestricted, they learned the existence of things that had been hidden from them before. They read foreign books, talked with French and English officers, studied the French Revolution and the English parliamentary system. From this improvised instruction resulted the Constitution of 1812, which was the first form given in Spain to modern political ideas.

The Constitution of 1812 can only be explained by the special conditions under which it was produced. The Cortes, suddenly summoned under the pressure of the people of Cadiz, had nothing but the name in common with the historical Cortes of grandees and prelates. It was an assembly elected by a sort of universal suffrage in three degrees. The Castilian provinces, which were occupied by the French armies, did not send deputies. The majority was composed of deputies from the maritime provinces, Catalonia, Galicia, and Cadiz, which were more democratic and less attached to absolutism than the rest of Spain. The Cortes thus had an exceptionally democratic character. It resembled the French States-General of '89, adopted the same doctrines, and like them deliberated in the midst of clamour and applause from the public in the galleries, and voted the same measures.

The Assembly was divided into two parties: the *Serviles*, attached to the old *régime*, and the *Liberals*, partisans of liberty. It was from Spain that the latter term came into popular usage. The *Liberales*, who were in majority, declared the Cortes sovereign and indissoluble (like the French Constituante in '89) and voted to abolish the old system, with its censorship of the press, seigniorial rights, patrimonial jurisdictions, and privileges of the nobility.

The Constitution of 1812 was drawn up in the same spirit. After a preamble in honour of the "old fundamental laws of this monarchy," the Cortes proclaimed the very principle of the French Revolution: "Sovereignty is vested essentially *in the nation*, accordingly it is to the nation exclusively that the right of making its fundamental laws belongs." The end of the sentence, "and of accepting the form of government which suits it best," was rejected by 87 votes against 73. The government was organized on the model of the French Constitution of 1791. The executive power was given to the King to be exercised through his ministers. The legislative power was given to the Cortes subject to royal assent, which could be twice withheld. Ministers

could not be deputies and had access to the Cortes only when sent for. The Cortes was composed of a single assembly, elected by indirect universal suffrage. The deputies were elected for two years only and were not eligible for re-election. The constitution established rules for the organization of courts, provincial administration, taxation, the army, and public education. It proclaimed the principles of liberty and legal equality. This was the abolition of the old *régime* root and branch.

On one point the Liberals did not dare break with tradition: they did not announce religious liberty. "The religion of the Spanish nation is and always will be the Apostolic Church of Rome, the only true Church; the nation protects it by wise and just laws and forbids the exercise of any other religion." At least the Cortes refused to restore the Inquisition that the French had abolished, in spite of the demands made by the monks who filled the galleries.

Thus the national insurrection of 1808 in favour of the absolute King against the French invaders had ended by creating a Liberal party and a revolutionary constitution, like those of France.

Restoration of 1814.—The attempt at a liberal government by the Cortes of 1811 was suddenly brought to an end. French intervention had caused the downfall of the old system, English intervention brought about the Restoration.

The English army brought back the absolute King. The King's absence in itself had been an advantage to the Liberals. After his return the balance of parties shifted. The *Serviles* presented to Ferdinand a manifesto against the Cortes and the constitution, which they said was a copy of the constitution proposed by Napoleon at Bayonne; they asked him to convoke the Cortes according to the ancient custom. As the King passed through the country the monks and the people saluted him with cries of "Long live the absolute King! Down with the traitors!" Ferdinand joined the absolutists; he signed the manifesto: "My royal will is not only not to swear obedience to the constitution and not to accept any decree from the Cortes, but to declare this constitution and these decrees void. . . Whoever should maintain them . . . would commit an outrage against the prerogatives of my sovereignty and the welfare of the nation. . . I declare him guilty of high treason; he shall suffer the penalty of death, if he sustain these acts by tongue or pen." Orders were given to close the hall of the Cortes and to seize their records.

Thirty-three notables of the Liberal party were then arrested. The court could find no complaint against them; they were left in prison for a year and a half. Finally, in December, 1815, the King himself, sitting in judgment without having read the papers in their cases, condemned some of them to eight years in a convict prison (*presidio*), others to imprisonment in a convent, others to exile, adding that at the expiration of their sentence they would still remain at the King's discretion. The members of the tribunal of Valencia were dismissed from their judgeships for having had a medal struck with the inscription "The King and the Constitution."

The old system was restored, as before 1808, with the Castilian Council, privileges, Inquisition, and *camarilla*. Every evening, it is said, the King's confessors met with him, drafted decrees, and ordered arrests.

But the government did not find the same condition of affairs as before the invasion. 1st, Five years of war had destroyed the cities, villages, roads, and bridges, decimated and impoverished the population. The government resources were diminished and its burdens increased. In 1816 the expenses were estimated at 1,051,000,000 *reals* (about $13,000,000) and the receipts at little more than half that amount. The financial system must be reformed to cover this deficit. 2d, The American colonies, revolting against the French usurpers, had remained in revolt against the legitimate King; armies must be sent to subdue them.

The restoration government came to grief in these two enterprises. Ferdinand at first let his minister Garay prepare a budget project for 1817, reducing expenses and exacting a contribution from the clergy and high officials. He even supported Garay against the clergy and the court until September, 1817, then suddenly dismissed him before any reform had been realized. In the American war Ferdinand had counted on assistance from Tsar Alexander; he also remained for a number of years under the influence of the Russian ambassador, who used his power to keep Garay in office and to secure the financial reform. Finally, in February, 1818, the Russian fleet sent to aid the king in subduing his colonies arrived at Cadiz, but it was composed of old unseaworthy ships; the King had to send them back to Russia and pay the expenses of their return. In 1820 the army which had been prepared in 1816 against Buenos Ayres was still waiting to embark.

Revolution of 1820.—The war against Napoleon had roused a

new power in Spain, the officers of the army. These had led the nation in revolt, and they remained the real representatives of the nation in opposition to the court. They were acquainted with one another, kept in communication from one end of Spain to the other, and were able to take concerted action against the government.

Many of them, connected with Masonic lodges organized by the French and English during the invasion time, had meetings with the liberal Free Masons. It was the officers, aided perhaps by the Free Masons, who started the revolution in the name of the Constitution of 1812. A military revolt attempted in 1815 had failed. But the army was not satisfied. Ferdinand had no love for the army, and held aloof from the officers wherever he could; the soldiers received neither clothes, food, nor money.

In 1820 the revolt began in the south, in the army encamped near Cadiz, waiting since 1816 to leave for America. This *pronunciamiento* did not succeed. Riego crossed the whole province of Andalusia with 1500 men without meeting either opposition or support. His example did, however, produce a decisive uprising in the north. Santiago, the old ecclesiastical city of Galicia, had a rival, Corunna, the commercial seaport, where a group of Liberals was still in existence. These made arrangements with the officers of the garrison and formed an insurrectional *junta*, which proclaimed the Constitution of 1812. The other army corps refused to fight or else declared themselves in sympathy with the insurgents. The King was alarmed and announced his readiness to accept the constitution.

Thus, from this first revolution on, provincial *juntas* and military *pronunciamientos* were the active agencies of insurrection. First created to oppose the foreign invader, these two instruments were to serve henceforth to excite political revolutions. They corresponded to the two elements in which Spanish political life was concentrated, the army and the city populations, especially in the outlying provinces, Galicia, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Mercia, and Andalusia. The *junta* furnished the impulse to revolt, the army supplied the power and controlled the movement.

The generals, who in old Spain were of no importance, became veritable sovereigns of new Spain. The country entered upon a *régime* of *pronunciamientos;* a superior officer revolted against the government, issuing a proclamation to explain his conduct and appeal to the discontented. If the government was no longer sufficiently popular to be defended by the army, the insurgents

overturned it and set up another. This appeal to force, irregular though it might be, was, in a country not yet provided with political education, the sole check on the despotism of the court.

From the time of this first revolution parties began to form and questions to arise. The absolutist party was shut out of the government. The Liberal party organized itself. It was at first directed at Madrid by a political club, "the National and Constitutional Patriotic Society of the Lorencini Café," which held public meetings and published the *Aurora de España*. In the great cities of the provinces provisional *juntas* assumed the administration in place of the officials; some of them even suppressed or established taxes. The Liberal party held the King in its power and governed in his name, invoking the constitution. The text of the constitution was posted in each city, and carried in processions like the Eucharist and treated with the same honours. The King swore solemnly to observe the constitution and signed a decree "that every Spaniard who will not swear allegiance to the constitution or who does it with protest and reservation is unworthy of being considered a Spaniard, instantly loses his honour, his employment, and advantages conferred by the state, and must be driven out of the monarchy." The bishops received the order to have the constitution expounded by the parish priests. The Cortes was then elected according to the constitution. As early as this first election a fact appeared which has been repeated in every subsequent Spanish election of the century: the great majority of those elected were supporters of the government.

In the Cortes of 1820 the Liberals divided into two parties: the *Moderados* (moderates), who supported the ministry and wished to avoid conflict with the King and clergy; the *Exaltados* (fanatics), who wished to provoke conflict. The *Moderados* had a great majority in the Cortes, while the *Exaltados* were supported almost entirely at first by the turbulent cities of Andalusia and, in Madrid, by the *Fontana de Oro* club. The ministers obtained from the Cortes laws limiting the liberty of the press and forbidding political societies. But the *Moderados* could not keep up their policy of conciliation with the King and clergy. The king did not accept the constitution sincerely, and it could not be modified, for the Cortes of 1812, in order to prevent the return to absolution, had established a process for revision which required several years. The clergy was opposed to the liberal system in advance. The finances were in a desperate state, with a

deficit increasing yearly, for the Cortes had lowered the unpopular land tax, and the taxes came in slowly. The debt was estimated at 700,000,000 dollars. The ministry decided to appropriate the church estates by a law suppressing the monasteries. The clergy became henceforth the irreconcilable enemy of the *Moderados*.

The *Moderados'* opponents, absolutists and *Exaltados*, worked together. The King's confessor secretly excited the *Exaltados* against the ministry. In opposition to the leaders of the Moderados the Free Masons formed a new secret society, the *Communeros*, whose members had to swear "to defend the rights and liberties of the human race and especially the Spanish people." The members were chiefly young men and petty military officers.

The Moderados kept themselves in power with difficulty, surrounded by *Exaltado* insurrections and *Servile* intrigues, for two years, until the end of the Cortes. But at the renewal for 1822, as the constitution forbade the re-election of any retiring deputy, the leaders of the *Moderados* found themselves shut out, and the elections, conducted in great disorder, gave the majority to the *Exaltados*. The King again formed a *Moderado* ministry; but he conspired against his ministry himself. Bands of absolutists, formed by smugglers and peasants, led by monks, made their appearance in the mountains of Catalonia. The royal guard revolted, dismissed its liberal officers, and fought against the army in Madrid, on July 7, 1822.

A new ministry composed of *Exaltados* was imposed on the king by the majority in the Cortes; it was supported by the *Communeros* and the people in the cities of Andalusia, Valencia, Aragon, and Catalonia. But when the absolutists revolted against the Cortes and set up a *junta* in Catalonia which called the nation to arm and deliver their imprisoned King from the rebels, they declared null all the government's acts since 1820 and established a regency. These insurgents called themselves "the apostolic army" and posed as the defenders of religion against the Free Mason constitutionalists (the *Blacks*).

Restoration of 1823.—The absolutist party was too feeble to reconquer Spain. The restoration was brought about by foreign intervention. The governments of the four great continental monarchies of Europe had been from the beginning unfriendly to the revolution of 1820; but they dared not risk an invasion of Spain. The French government finally took the responsibility of it. The French army invaded Spain this time to restore the

absolute monarchy. The guerrillas of the northern frontiers, who in the time of Napoleon had fought against the French, now formed the "army of the faith" and marched with the invaders.

The Spanish government had neither army nor money, and made no attempt to stop the French. The Cortes withdrew first to Seville, then to Cadiz, taking with them the unwilling King. Ferdinand said he was sick; they replied that a change of air would cure him. On the departure for Cadiz, he refused to go; the Cortes, not wishing to depose the King, declared him insane and established a regency. The absolutists, entering Madrid with the French army, formed a regency which restored the conditions of 1820. All over the country bands of *Royal Volunteers* were organized, and the bishop of Osma even founded a secret absolutist society, the *Destroying Angel.* Notable Liberals were imprisoned and held to ransom and their houses pillaged.

The government of the Cortes at Cadiz capitulated at the end of three months. After the fall of the Trocadero, Ferdinand was sent to the French camp; on his departure he promised to grant an amnesty, "general, full, and complete." The next day Ferdinand published a manifesto annulling all the acts of the "so-called constitutional government" and ratifying all the acts of the absolutist *junta* and regency. He then condemned to the gallows the three members of the liberal regency.

Ferdinand, reinstated as an absolute monarch, chose his confessor for his prime minister. He dared not restore the Inquisition, but he tried to replace it with "*juntas* of the faith." This meant the restoration of the old *régime.* But three permanent results followed from the revolution:

1. The American colonies had taken advantage of the confusion in the mother country to effect a final separation.

2. The debt and the deficit had increased.

3. The absolutists and the king had acquired against the Liberals a hatred which found vent in years of persecution. No one who had filled an office or served in the national guard during the constitutional *régime* could come within 15 miles of the royal residence. The Liberal leaders were arrested; Riego was hanged. Purge-commissions were established, before which every office-holder and army officer must appear and prove that during the constitutional period he had committed no offence against the crown or the Church. To encourage men to become king's evidence the government promised them both secrecy and a pardon.

The inquiry was extended to the professors and students, and finally to the common soldiers.

This rigorous system was beginning to relax when, in 1824, the Liberal refugees in Gibraltar attempted an insurrection, and the persecution was resumed. One hundred and twelve accused persons were hanged or shot. Seven Free Masons were executed for holding a meeting. Every man was prosecuted in whose possession was found any book printed in Spain between 1820 and 1823, or a foreign book. In the universities the students had to swear not to recognise the sovereignty of the people or to join a secret society.

Until Ferdinand's death, in 1833, the government was controlled by court intrigues or the influence of foreign ambassadors. The ministers were all Absolutists, but they did not all have the same policy. The majority (Ufalia from 1823, Zea in 1825, Burgos in 1827) wished to restore peace in the nation by granting amnesty to the Liberals and putting the Royal Volunteers under government control. The Apostolic party was dissatisfied and deserted Ferdinand for his brother Carlos, who was known to be devoted to the clergy. There were even royalist insurrections in Catalonia against the King, in 1824, 1825, and particularly in 1827. The insurgents demanded the dissolution of the army, the abolition of new institutions of which the nation knew nothing, "such as police and public education," and the meeting of a national council to settle the true principles of religion. But Carlos refused to lift a hand against the legitimate sovereign.

The result was to alienate Ferdinand from his own supporters. He let the ministers make a timid attempt at financial reform. But, in 1831, an attack by the Liberal refugees in France caused him to revert to the system of terror. Courts-martial were established. A young man was hanged in Madrid for crying "Hurrah for liberty!" and a young widow at Granada for embroidering a flag with the inscription: "Law, Liberty, Equality."

War of the Succession (1830-33).—The absolutist system came to an end in the quarrel regarding the law of succession. By his first three wives Ferdinand had no children, so that his brother Carlos must be his heir. His fourth wife was a Neapolitan princess, Christina, who bore him two daughters. Since the accession of the Bourbons at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the succession had been, in Spain as in France, through the male line exclusively; Carlos was therefore the legitimate heir. But in 1831 Ferdinand, wishing to secure the succession to his

own daughter, availed himself of a decree restoring the old order of female succession, which had been prepared in 1789 but had never been promulgated; he now promulgated it without notifying either his brother or the Council of State.

From this time, April 3, 1830, until Ferdinand's death, Spain's whole policy depended on the struggle between two influences, that of the Queen and that of the Apostolic party. The Queen ruled at first, supported the ministers in office, had Louis Philippe recognised, and, when a daughter was born to her, sought to gain support among the ancient aristocracy so long excluded from the court, by appointing chamberlains and maids of honour. The attempt of the Liberals in 1831 threw the King on the side of the Apostolic party for eighteen months; in September, 1832, when he was thought to be dying, the Queen, in her isolation was obliged to consent to a measure annulling the decree of 1831 restoring female succession. But Ferdinand recovered, dismissed his ministers, and placed the government in the Queen's hands. A royal act annulled the measure obtained during the King's illness. In June, 1833, the Castilian Cortes were convoked in the old form,—the *grandees* and the *proctors* of 38 cities,—and were made to swear to recognise the King's daughter Isabella as Queen. But the new order of succession was still much debated. The King had his brother asked to take the oath. Carlos replied by begging him to communicate his protest to the sovereigns: "I am firmly convinced of my legitimate right to the throne of Spain in case I should survive Your Majesty and you should leave no son; I declare that neither my conscience nor my honour will permit me to swear to recognise any other claims."

Carlos was supported by all the monks, the greater part of the clergy, many army officers, all the Royal Volunteers (officially estimated at 10,000 foot-soldiers and 4000 cavalry, armed and uniformed), all the cities of Castile, and all the Pyrenean provinces. The Queen's party included only the office-holders, *grandees*, and a part of the army; but it had the decided advantage of being in possession of the government at the time of the King's sudden death, September 29, 1833. The Queen was appointed regent until the majority of her daughter, Queen Isabella.

The minister who governed in Christina's name, Zea Bermudez, aspired to maintain the absolutist system and govern in opposition to both the Carlists and the Liberals. In 1832

he had declared the Queen "irreconcilably opposed to any religious or political innovation"; and after Isabella's accession, he had her say: "I will maintain the forms and fundamental laws of the monarchy without admitting dangerous innovations." But Christina finally realized that to resist the Carlists she needed the help of all opponents of the old *régime*, and she decided to seek the support of the Liberals. She granted amnesty for political offences, and ordered the Royal Volunteers to disarm; the Liberals then gave her open support. Spain was then arrayed in two parties: *Carlists* and *Christinos*. The European states also took sides: the constitutional governments, England and France, with Christina, the absolute monarchies with Carlos.

The Statute of 1834 and the Constitution of 1837.—The government first attempted administrative reforms; Spain was divided into 49 provinces, each with a civil governor, after the model of the French departments. These still remain the divisions of Spain, and have definitely replaced the former historic provinces. Then, in order to be able to make war on the Carlists, the queen called on the Liberals to take the government.

The ministry, under a Liberal martyr, Martinez de la Rosa, decided to grant a new constitution. But the framers of it affected to avoid the forms of 1812. The Queen Regent promulgated a Royal Statute in her daughter's name, announcing that she had "resolved to convoke the general Cortes of the kingdom." These Cortes should hold public sessions and should have the power to vote taxes and laws. But the ministers were not to be responsible to the Cortes; the government reserved the right to convoke and dissolve the Cortes, to appoint its presiding officers, and to propose bills for enactment. The Cortes was divided into two estates (*estamentos*). That of the *Proceres* was composed of prelates, hereditary *grandees* enjoying an income of $10,000 and life-members appointed by the crown with an income qualification of $3000. The *Procuradores*, who formed the second estate, were deputies elected for three years by indirect election—the primary voters being property owners. Deputies-elect must have an income of $600, and were to receive no salary.

Under old Spanish names this was almost the same as the French Charter under Louis XVIII. Spain became, by concession from the crown, a constitutional monarchy. It had not yet, however, a true representative system; the ministry was still independent of the nation's representatives. Even if it should

become responsible to the Chamber, it would be so only in name. If the ministers found themselves in conflict with the Cortes, they had only to dissolve it in order to be sure of a victory, for the government in Spain has an irresistible influence over the electors. There have been many elections since 1835, and they have always given the government a majority. The elective chamber was in 1844, and is still, hardly more than an ornament. And yet the Statute of 1834 marks a new era in the political life of Spain; henceforth the ministers, whether generals or politicians, exercise the power, and the ministry has taken the place of the *camarilla.*

With the opening of the Cortes in 1834 began a greatly agitated parliamentary life. The Liberals who returned from exile brought with them the doctrines and formulas of liberal countries—France and England. A new generation of orators appeared with the Spanish gift of eloquence. But their debates in the Cortes have more literary than political interest. The possession of power rested mainly on military revolts, court intrigues, and the influence of the foreign governments that formed the Quadruple Alliance. All these counterbalancing forces produced a very unstable equilibrium. The ministries were short; in twenty-five years, 1833 to 1858, there were 47 presidents of the council, 61 ministers of the interior, 78 of finance, and 96 of war. As the deputies received no salary, politicians had no alternative but to become ministers or office-holders. So the contention for possession of the ministry has been fierce. In this impoverished country, where opportunities to make a living are scant, there have always been many more candidates than offices to be filled. This competition between candidates for office is the ruling force and explains the parliamentary disturbances in Spain. Personal motives are, however, disguised under the name of efforts for the success of a party.

The Liberals, as after 1820, divided into two parties: *Moderates* and *Progressists.* The latter name took the place of *Exaltados.*

The Moderates accepted the Royal Statute, that is to say, the sovereign's control over the Chambers. They wished to keep the upper house exclusively for hereditary and life members, to have high voting qualifications, and a censorship of the press. They were willing to leave the local administrations—the municipalities and the provincial deputations—subject to the central government. They wished to avoid radical reforms, which the clergy and great landowners disapproved, and confine themselves

to administrative and financial reforms. They were supported by the French government. Their party was an aristocratic one, formed by officials and such of the great landowners as were not Carlists; its power lay in the central and northern provinces.

The Progressists demanded the Constitution of 1812, which made the Cortes superior to the government. They wanted more democratic elections, liberty of the press and of creed, and elective local authorities in the provinces and cities. They declared themselves opposed to the clergy and aristocracy. They looked to the English government for support. They were a democratic and provincial party, particularly numerous in Andalusia and in the cities of ancient Aragon—Barcelona, Saragossa, and Valencia.

The Moderates, called to the ministry by the Queen Regent, had to direct the war against the Carlists. Despairing of bringing it to an end, they twice asked help from France, and were twice refused. The Progressists, irritated by the Carlist victories, had risen against the monks; at Saragossa the people sacked the monasteries and massacred a number of monks; at Barcelona they burned six monasteries, shot 32 monks, and beat others to death; at Madrid four monasteries were burned. Insurrectional *juntas* proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, attacked officials, and levied taxes. In September, 1835, the Queen, on the advice of the English ambassador, called to the ministry a Jewish banker, Mendizabal, who was friendly to the Progressists and connected in business affairs with London. The new minister gave promise of relieving Spain's financial embarrassment.

The budget had never ceased to show a deficit; since 1823 over $150,000,000 had been borrowed. Mendizabal was counting on the monastic possessions to pay off the debt; they were valued at $900,000,000. There were 90,000 monks. In 1836, by a series of decrees, he suppressed all the monasteries, congregations, and other religious houses for men, also some of the convents for women. He declared their real and personal property appropriated to paying off the national debt. The government gained almost nothing from this transaction: government paper, instead of going up, went down from 16 to 12.

The Queen took a Moderate ministry again in 1836, and new elections gave it a majority in the Cortes. But the Progressists revolted in Andalusia, Aragon, Catalonia, and Madrid. Queen Christina was with Muñoz, her favourite, at her country-seat, Granja Castle. One evening, August 12, 1836, while the supe-

rior officers were at the theatre, the lower officers led the garrison in revolt, invaded the castle, and forced the Queen to promulgate the Constitution of 1812, then to summon a Progressist ministry. The Progressists assumed power, and decided to revise the Constitution of 1812 without conforming to the prescribed forms of revision, and had the Cortes vote the constitution of June, 1837. This was a compromise between the Constitution of 1812 and the Statute of 1834. It gave to the Cortes the initiative in making laws, to the King the right to refuse his assent and to dissolve the Cortes. The Cortes was to consist of two houses: the *Senate*, composed of members appointed for life by the crown from a list prepared by the electors; the *Congress*, composed of deputies elected by direct vote for 3 years. They were made re-eligible, contrary to the system of 1812. The ministers might be taken from among the members of the Cortes. The article on religion was purposely voted in very vague form: "The nation promises to maintain the creed and ministers of the Catholic religion which the Spaniards profess." They avoided deciding between the principle of religious intolerance admitted in 1812 and the principle of toleration demanded by the Progressists. Local and provincial administration was to be left to elective authorities.

This system was not allowed time to work itself out in practice. But there were henceforth in Spain two constitutions, corresponding to the two parties: the Statute of 1834 for the Moderates, the Constitution of 1837 for the Progressists.

The Carlist War (1834-39).—During all these political struggles between the two factions of the Liberal party civil war was still going on between the government armies, the *Christinos*, and the absolutist insurgents, the *Carlists*. Don Carlos had taken no steps to organize his supporters. In all the provinces except Andalusia, armed bands proclaimed Charles V., but were soon dispersed (1834). Carlos was in Portugal, with the absolutist pretender, Miguel, hoping to return to Spain with a Portuguese army. It was, however, a Spanish army that invaded Portugal and forced the two pretenders to set sail for England.

The Carlists' power lay in the fact that their party was not composed entirely of absolutists and clergy: it included also the mountaineers of Navarre and the Basque country. The three Basque provinces were not incorporated in the Spanish monarchy; the king was only *lord* there, with neither army nor officials. The Basques governed themselves, each province hav-

ing its *señoria*, each village its assembly of the heads of families. They paid no royal taxes, rendered no military service. The country was outside the line of Spanish customs duties, which gave the inhabitants the double advantage of trading freely with France on one side and of plying the trade of smuggling goods into Spain on the other side. This is the combination of liberties known as the *fueros*. Navarre enjoyed similar privileges. The Basque country did not suffer the poverty of Spain. It had none of the beggars and ruined villages (*despoblados*) seen in the other provinces. The valleys were well cultivated and the houses well kept up. There were many schools and few convents. The society was democratic, composed of peasant landowners, and very Catholic, rendering faithful obedience to native priests.

To these peoples the old *régime* signified the maintenance of the *fueros*. Liberal victory meant centralization, uniform laws, the prospect of descending to a level with Spain. By taking up arms for the absolute king the mountaineers thus defended their privileged position; also their religion, which they believed to be threatened by the Liberals.

Zumalacarregui, a Basque, and a colonel in the regular army, organized the first Carlist army in Navarre. The insurgents of the Basque provinces then put themselves under his command. Each province formed its battalions; the men, clothed in the native costume of wool, with Tam o' Shanter caps, linen shoes on their feet, carrying only a woollen blanket and a linen sack, could pass through the most difficult mountain paths; they made marches of 16 to 18 hours. The Carlist methods were the same as those of the *guerillas;* to avoid battles, and take the enemy by surprise, retreating before superior forces over the mountain to another valley. They were sure of help from the inhabitants everywhere. The Christinos were heavily encumbered and could use only the valley roads, among a hostile population which refused to guide them and reported their movements to the Carlists. The army, formed partially of new recruits, ill-equipped and often left unpaid by the government, exhausted itself in fruitless manœuvres.

This war of all Spain against the mountaineers lasted over five years. It consisted of numberless, confused, and insignificant operations, conducted separately in two regions: in the west, Navarre and the Basque provinces; in the east, Catalonia and Aragon. In all these countries the cities, guarded by national guards composed of Liberals, remained faithful to the govern-

ment and resisted the attacks of the Carlists. Don Carlos returned from England in July, 1834, and established his court and government in Navarre.

The war very soon became fierce. The Carlists murdered their prisoners: they could not guard or feed them. The government generals had the insurgent officers and soldiers shot. Notables of the opposing party were shot on both sides, and both began to take hostages and execute them. In Catalonia, where the Carlist general Cabrera had had an alcade shot, General Mina, one of the heroes of the Liberal party, had Cabrera's mother, an inoffensive old lady, arrested and shot, "to restrain," he said, "by a just system of reprisals the excesses of the bloodthirsty Cabrera."

Both parties received outside aid. The constitutional governments lent the Spanish government an English legion and a French legion: the absolutist governments and the French legitimists sent Carlos money, arms, and volunteers.

The Carlists seemed many times to be on the point of victory; but Don Carlos either could not or would not profit by these occasions. He was neither a general nor a statesman; he counted on miraculous help from the Mother of Grief,—whom he appointed head of the royal armies in 1836,—and let himself be directed by his *camarilla* of confessors and favourites, who thwarted the operations of his generals. Three times he failed to conquer:

1. In 1835, during the struggles between the Moderates and Progressists, Zumalacarrequi was preparing to march on Madrid with 28,000 men; the *camarilla* sent him to besiege Bilbao, and he was killed.

2. In 1836, after the Granja *pronunciamiento*, the Moderates seemed ready, out of hatred to the Progressists, to join Don Carlos; but, instead of promising an amnesty, he ordered public prayers for the extermination of unbelievers.

3. In 1837 Don Carlos finally decided to march on Castile, but he could take only 12,000 foot soldiers and 1200 cavalry, unprovided with food or money, and let himself be turned aside toward Valencia. At the end of four months he came in sight of Madrid, but, not daring to attack it, retired to the mountains without a battle.

Don Carlos' supporters divided at length into two parties: on the one hand, the *Apostolicals*, the king's ministers and confessors; and, on the other, the *Marotists*, partisans of General-in-

chief Maroto,—the army and the mountaineers. Maroto finally arrested and shot four generals of the Apostolic party; Don Carlos declared him a traitor. Maroto at the head of his army forced Don Carlos to dismiss his councillors and declare his approval of the steps taken by his general.

The Basques were weary of war. A party had been formed in 1837, with the motto *Paz y fueros*, peace and the *fueros*. It was ready to accept Queen Isabella on condition that the country should retain its privileges. The Liberal government authorized its general, Espartero, to make terms with the insurgents on this basis. The negotiations, interrupted but resumed again, brought about the Convention of Vergara, August 31, 1839. The Carlist army was disarmed; each man was given the choice of retiring or passing into the service of the government with his grade and his decorations. Espartero was to advise the government to promise to recommend to the Cortes the guarantee of the *fueros*. Don Carlos fled to France with 8000 men. Cabrera continued the war in Catalonia until July, 1840.

The Military Dictatorship of Espartero and of Narvaez (1840-51).—As soon as the Carlist war was over, the generals became the political leaders of Spain; they bore the name of a party, but in reality they struggled against one another for the mastery of the power.

Espartero, created Duke of Vittoria, famed for having put an end to the Carlist war, was the first military dictator. He disliked Queen Christina, who favoured the Moderates, and so he sided with the Progressists. The occasion of his revolt was the municipal law of 1840, passed by the Moderates, who were then in power; it took from the municipalities the right of electing the alcaldes, and gave the power of appointment to the government, contrary to the Constitution of 1837. The Progressists revolted in Barcelona, then in Madrid; Espartero supported them. Christina, deserted by the army, fled to France (1840). Espartero got himself named as regent. For three years he governed Spain. He defeated the Moderate generals, who revolted at Pampeluna in 1840. He bombarded Barcelona, where a Republican party had formed, and, with the aid of the officers, had proclaimed a republic. After having dissolved the Cortes twice in five months, he was defeated by a coalition of all the parties, Moderates, Progressists, and Republicans, and was forced to leave Spain. Queen Isabella was declared of age in 1843.

The coalition was short-lived. The Moderates, backed by the

generals, overturned the Progressist ministry and recalled Queen Christina, who married Muñoz and created him Duke of Rianzares. One of the Moderate generals, Narvaez, assumed control of the government in May, 1844, and governed, with a few interruptions, until 1851. The Progressist constitution of 1837 was set aside to make room for the Constitution of 1845, almost a reproduction of the Statute of 1834. The crown, the ministry, and a Council of State exercised all the real power, and appointed the municipal and provincial authorities. It was a centralized system copied from France. Newspapers were closely watched, and no article could be printed without previous approval of the government.

As a means of conciliation the clergy received back the possessions that had not been sold. Under the Moderates' rule the question of the Spanish marriages, which had for so long filled the French and English newspapers, was at length brought to an end. These marriages—that of Queen Isabella with her cousin Francis, Duke of Cadiz, and that of Luisa, the Queen's sister, with the Duc de Montpensier, son of Louis Philippe—agitated Europe and especially England, because they were expected to make French influence supreme in Madrid: they were also said to be a breach of engagements made between the French and English governments. But their importance was overrated. They did not change political conditions in Spain. Francis, the Prince Consort, weak in body and mind, took no part in the government. The queen mother, Christina, remained the head of the court.

Under the system of dictatorship, the government, whether Progressist or Moderate, never followed the procedure prescribed by the constitutions. It settled by a simple decree matters which should have been voted under form of a law. It suspended by decree the constitutional guarantees of personal liberty or established martial law; it was thus able to arrest its opponents, suspend their publications, and forbid public meetings. As for the taxes, which by all the constitutions should pass the Cortes before being levied, they were not once regularly imposed from 1834 to 1850; the ministry merely obtained a previous authorization from the Cortes to draw up a budget and levy necessary taxes.

The Moderates, once established in power, although they had still to put down the Republican insurrections of 1848, were chiefly occupied with financial regulations. They organized a uniform system of direct taxes on consumption and on callings.

The debt was consolidated and fixed officially at $600,000,000, and the budget was almost balanced. The customs tariff of 1849 suppressed many prohibitions, lowered and regulated the duties on foreign articles.

The Concordat of 1851 and the Breaking up of Parties.—When Isabella was established on the throne, the absolutists abandoned the Carlists little by little and rallied to the support of the government. The Moderate party, transformed by these new recruits, became more and more like the old absolutist party. The *camarilla* formed again about Christina, then about Isabella, and governed sometimes through the ministers, sometimes in opposition to them. In January, 1851, Christina got rid of Narvaez and called her personal supporters to the ministry.

The Moderate party broke up between 1851 and 1854; the Liberals detached themselves from it. The Moderates, left in power with Christina's support, adopted an absolutist policy to satisfy the aristocracy and the clergy, who were now reconciled with the crown; they wished to re-enforce the Church's authority in the monarchy. This was the time of general reaction in Europe following the excitements of 1848.*

Church affairs were the first to be settled. The government, independently of the Cortes, signed with the Pope the Concordat of March, 1851, whereby all Church affairs were to be regulated according to canonical form. "Catholicism is the national religion, all others are forbidden. Instruction in the public schools must be in harmony with religion." The bishops received power to oversee the purity of the faith, and the religious education of children. "The government will lend its support to the bishops when they ask it to oppose any enterprise of a nature to pervert the minds of believers and corrupt their morals; also to prevent the publication, circulation, and introduction of evil books." Thus the government gave the clergy control of education and a censorship of books, and put itself at the service of the ecclesiastical authority. In return the Pope consented to the abolition of Church jurisdiction and recognised the sale of Church property; but the government promised to respect the property not sold and authorized the Church to acquire new lands.

In political matters, the ministers, in December, 1852, prepared a series of projects for the reform of the constitution; they wished

*This movement is marked in Spain by Balmès' philosophy and the writings of Donoso Cortès, for which the Catholic party made a European reputation.

to make the constitution conform with practice by officially recognising the right of the government to govern without the Cortes. The budget was to be permanent; the laws were to be made by the Crown and the Council of State; relations with the Church were to be settled by the Crown and the Pope. The Cortes were to lose the publicity of their meetings, the Senate to become hereditary, the number of deputies to be reduced from 349 to 171 and their property qualification raised. A decree had created a special system against the press; crimes against public order and society were judged by a jury composed of the heaviest taxpayers; in the provinces the governor, or prefect, could impose a fine by administrative process. The government might suspend or suppress "any publication showing tendencies dangerous to the fundamental principles of society."

The Liberal Union and the Revolution of 1854.—This system ended in a revolution. The Moderates, left out of the ministry, formed a coalition with the Progressists, with Narvaez at their head. The generals led the opposition. In the Senate it was shown by allusions to Christina's husband, who was accused of securing concessions for railroads. The government replied by suspending the Cortes. The generals set on foot military revolts; the ministry put down two of them, but was defeated by the third. A Moderate general, O'Donnell, together with the director-general of the cavalry, organized it at Madrid; Espartero, once more leader of the Progressists, joined them in Aragon. This time the people in Madrid built barricades and fought for three days, sacking the ministers' houses and murdering the police agents. Christina was obliged to flee, leaving Isabella at the mercy of the insurgents. The revolution of July, 1854, was a victory for the generals and the democrats of the large cities over the court and clergy. The army gained by it: all the officers were advanced a grade.

O'Donnell and Espartero, having secured control of the power, governed together from 1854 to 1856. Espartero, president of the council, was supported by the Progressists; O'Donnell, minister of war, had created a new party, the *Liberal Union*, formed of seceders from the old parties, the *Desengannados* or Disillusioned Ones, favouring a liberal constitutional monarchy, a happy mean between the absolutism of the former Moderates and the anarchy of the Progressists.

In this coalition government the Progressists had at first the chief influence. They armed the militia (national guard) and

convoked a Cortes to draw up a constitution; the majority in the assembly was Progressist. The Progressist officials dismissed in 1843 were reinstated, and the years that had elapsed since their dismissal were to count as years of service. The Council of State was suppressed, taxes on articles of food abolished, and the administrative law of 1821 was re-enacted. The Constitution of 1855 was voted, making the Senate elective. But before the constitution was promulgated the Progressists lost control of the government.

A republican party had been formed, chiefly in the northwestern provinces, demanding universal suffrage, liberty of holding public meetings and the abolition of military conscription. At Barcelona the workingmen, organized in secret societies, revolted, massacred a number of employers, and took possession of the city. The Carlists revolted for the defence "of religion." The Progressists, who were in power, in order to meet these uprisings, suspended the guarantees of liberty, an action which brought them into conflict with the democrats.

Queen Isabella broke with the Progressists when they expressed a desire to meddle with Church property. The law of *disamortization* passed by the Cortes ordered the sale of all mortmain property, that of the state, of the communes, of charitable institutions, and of the clergy. The government was to reimburse the clergy by giving them 3 per cent. bonds. Isabella refused to sanction this law and threatened to abdicate; she would show, she said, "that a Queen could make sacrifices for her faith."

In the ministry, O'Donnell was already in open conflict with the Progressists; the Queen took his part and asked him to form a ministry. The Progressist deputies protested. The Madrid militia revolted. O'Donnell won the victory. After this he suppressed the militia, dismissed the Cortes, and restored the Constitution of 1845, adding to it the *Additional Act*, which guaranteed the Cortes a yearly session of 4 months and the presentation of the budget at the opening of the session.

But the old Moderate party, strengthened by the defeat of the Progressists, resumed its influence over the Queen. She dismissed O'Donnell and formed the Narvaez ministry of Moderates only, October, 1856. This ministry abolished what was left of the revolution of 1854: the Additional Act, the law of disamortization, and the administrative law; they restored the former system and even aggravated the press law. This reaction lasted two years under three ministries.

In 1858 Isabella recalled O'Donnell. He held the government five years without interruption, and the Cortes completed their legal term without being dissolved—an unprecedented thing. The Liberal Union supported the government as "the only way to escape anarchy on one hand, or despotism on the other." It was a third party between the two old extreme parties. O'Donnell's policy consisted in avoiding bitter conflicts in domestic affairs by taking no decisive measures, and in turning public attention to foreign policy. He restored the law of disamortization, but by an agreement with the Holy See, whereby the right of acquiring property was recognised in the Church. He promised a liberal press law, but did not present it. On the other hand, he brought Spain into the Morocco war, the conquest of San Domingo, the Mexican expedition, and the trouble with Peru. He added to the deficit of the ordinary budgets a deficit of the special budget, estimated at $50,000,000. The Liberal Union gradually lost its supporters; the Queen returned to the Moderates in 1863, and in 1864 restored Narvaez.

The Revolution of 1868.—The return of the Moderates to power began to make apparent the transformation of parties and public opinion in Spain. The absolutists, abandoning the Carlists little by little, had gone over to the Queen's support; the Moderates, thus re-enforced, gave up their constitutional and liberal views to become absolutist and Catholic. Isabella, feeling no longer obliged to lean on the Liberals, revived the tradition of Catholic absolutism and government by the *camarilla;* the most influential persons about her were the favourite Marfori, Father Cirile, a Franciscan who had become Bishop of Toledo, Father Claret, formerly a soldier, now a bishop, and Sister Patrocinio, condemned by the courts for simulating the scars of the Passion. The Queen's husband, who was on openly bad terms with the Queen, had almost no influence. The *camarilla* was hostile to O'Donnell and urged the Queen to display her devotion to Catholicism. She refused until 1864 to recognise the Kingdom of Italy, and the diplomats had to remonstrate with her before she would pardon the Spanish Protestants condemned to the galleys.

The Liberal parties, out of hatred to the *camarilla*, became revolutionary. The Progressist party declared itself, by a manifesto, unwilling to take further part in the elections. Since 1863 it had presented no candidates, believing that nothing short of revolution would improve the situation. A democratic party,

favouring universal suffrage and a republic, was constituted in the maritime provinces, Catalonia, Valencia, and Andalusia, and in Madrid. The opposition was no longer directed against the ministry; it attacked the dynasty itself, exciting public opinion against the scandals of the court.

The Moderate ministry replied with a blow at journalists and professors. Every article, before being printed, must be submitted to the authorities, who might forbid it, and the paper might be suspended at the third warning given for these unpublished articles. Castelar, a democratic professor at the University of Madrid, was excluded from his chair. The rector was dismissed; the students wished to give him a serenade, which the government authorized, then forbade. The result was a riot, in which a hundred were killed and wounded. The government ordered the dissolution of all clubs in which politics were discussed.

The Progressists endeavoured to excite the army against the dynasty; General Prim, an exile, organized insurrections. The first miscarried. That of Madrid, in June, 1866, was the work of the artillery sergeants, who were discontented with service in an army where all official positions were reserved for the pupils of a certain school; it resulted in numerous executions. The government became a military dictatorship with absolutist principles. Gonzalez Bravo, Minister of the Interior, said in the decree dissolving the Cortes: "The time has come for the Spaniards to be governed in the spirit of their history and the sentiments which form their real character." The Liberal Union protested against military rule; the government dissolved the Cortes, arrested the leaders of the party, and in December, 1866, exiled from Madrid Marshal Serrano, the President of the Senate. The leaders of the Liberal Union fled to France.

The absolutist ministry held its place, in spite of general discontent, as long as Narvaez lived. This leader put down all revolts, and, having had a new Cortes elected, he got his measures approved and carried a law authorizing him to expel from his home, and later to imprison, any citizen regarded as a *suspect*. The speech from the throne announced administrative and educational reforms to "fortify the policy of firm resistance to revolution" and to maintain "the tradition of the common action of Church and state." The Pope sent Queen Isabella the golden rose.

After Narvaez' death, in 1868, Gonzalez Bravo wished to continue the system. But he realized that the army was slipping

away from him; he had several of the generals arrested and imprisoned and the Duke of Montpensier driven from Spain. Then the leaders of the three persecuted parties,—Liberal Union, Progressists, and Democrats,—after long negotiation, agreed to make a joint revolution. They took advantage of the moment when the Queen was at the French frontier busy negotiating with Napoleon III. for the substitution of Spanish troops for the French troops defending the Pope in Rome.

The Revolution began with the *pronunciamiento* of Admiral Topete, commander of the Cadiz fleet; followed by a *pronunciamiento* signed by the principal generals of the opposition, Prim and Serrano. The cry was: "Down with the Bourbons! Long live national sovereignty!" the declared object was to establish a provisional government and universal suffrage as the "foundation of political and social regeneration." It was Andalusia that first declared for revolution. There was only one small battle, at Alcolea, near Cordova, on September 29. After this Madrid, then all Spain, joined the insurgents. Isabella was deserted and fled to France.

The Constitution of 1869.—The provisional government was set up at Madrid and recognised by all the insurrectional juntas of the 48 provinces. It consisted of the leaders of the allied parties, 5 Progressists, 4 Unionists, and 1 Democrat. Generals Prim and Serrano were the actual heads. In a circular to foreign nations, and in a manifesto to the people, they proclaimed the principles of the new system: sovereignty of the people, religious and educational liberty, and liberty of the press. These principles were recognised by all supporters of the revolution; all called themselves enemies to the absolutism of court and clergy as "opposed to the spirit of the century."

They were not agreed as to the form of government to adopt. The Progressists and the Liberal Union wanted a monarchy "surrounded by democratic institutions," with a new dynasty chosen by the nation.

The Democratic party was divided: the Madrid Democrats accepted the centralized monarchy; those of Catalonia, Aragon, and Valencia favoured a federal republic. The provisional government declared that the decision would be left to the Cortes summoned to make a constitution.

The Cortes of 1869, elected by universal suffrage, 1 deputy for each 45,000 souls, was in great majority composed of partisans of the coalition. They voted by 214 votes against 71 for the mon-

archy, with a liberal democratic constitution: the Cortes to consist of two houses, a "Congress" elected for 3 years by universal suffrage, a Senate elected for 12 years by special electors. All creeds were declared free; for the first time Spain dared to inscribe religious liberty in a constitution.

The Republicans replied with the "Compact of Tortosa" between the 11 provinces of the old crown of Aragon; they demanded a federal republic and organized party committees.

The Carlists had already issued a manifesto in 1868; they declared themselves in favour of "the national kingship," against a foreign monarchy, and for "unity of faith," against religious liberty. Their candidate was Don Carlos VII., grandson of the youngest brother of the former Don Carlos.

While awaiting the choice of a King, the Cortes gave the regency to Marshal Serrano, by 193 votes against 45. The Carlists immediately revolted, under the leadership of the priests. Serrano suspended the guarantees and put down the insurrection. He then asked the bishops for the names of the priests who had left their churches to make war, and ordered them to summon the faithful to obey the government.

Irritated by religious liberty, which seemed an insult to the old faith, the clergy fought the constitutional party. The government wanted to make the clergy swear obedience to the constitution; all the bishops refused, except one. The government ceased to pay the ecclesiastical salaries. The Cortes voted to adopt civil marriage. This was open war between the clergy and the revolution.

At the same time the constitutional coalition broke up over the choice of a king. The Liberal Union proposed the Duc de Montpensier, while the Progressists and Democrats wanted a foreign prince. The Unionists left the ministry. Prim, until his death, governed in the name of the Progressists. He spent a year in seeking the future King of Spain. He offered the crown to the son of the King of Portugal, to the Duke of Genoa, son of the King of Italy, and to the Catholic Prince of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen; this latter offer caused the Franco-Prussian war. All the offers were refused.

Finally Amadéo, Duke of Aosta, son of Victor Emmanuel, consented to accept the Spanish crown. The Cortes elected him by 191 votes against 115. But when he arrived in Spain, toward the end of December, 1870, Prim had just been assassinated. The new King was openly opposed by a Republican party and

two monarchical parties—the Carlists and the Unionists. He had also against him fanatical patriots, who called him the *foreigner*, the nobles, who were unhappy at seeing Democrats in the palace (they put on their hats upon the King's entrance at the opera), and finally the clergy, who objected to a constitutional King. His power was so weak that at the elections of March, 1871, his partisans gained a bare majority. There were 185 deputies in the opposition, including 60 Republicans and 65 Carlists.

Amadéo wished to govern as a parliamentary King. He chose his ministers from the majority formed by Progressists and Democrats, the remnant of the coalition that had compassed the revolution of 1868. But this coalition, left without a recognised leader by the death of Prim, broke into two hostile factions, the Progressists with Sagasta, the Radicals with Ruy Zorilla, two civil leaders. There was no longer a majority. The ministry resigned. The King protested against these changes, "which are only the result of intrigues between parties or groups"; but he did not succeed in forming a conciliation ministry. He called upon both parties in turn: he took a Radical ministry in July, 1871, which sent him on a tour of the Republican provinces in the northeast; then two Progressist ministries, in October and December, 1871, under whose advice he dissolved the Cortes. The Progressist ministry obtained a strong majority, 229 against 137, with 18 doubtful. The Carlists then revolted; the majority prepared to establish a military dictatorship, according to Spanish custom in case of trouble. But no one could persuade the King to sign the decree; the Progressist ministry retired in June, 1872.

The two former monarchist parties, the Moderates and the Liberal Union, after making overtures to one another, became one. Isabella had abdicated in favour of her son, Alphonso, who was still a minor; Montpensier supported him as the legitimate representative of the hereditary constitutional monarchy. The combined Moderates and Unionists became the Alphonsists, who, in June, 1872, pronounced themselves in favour of Alphonso with Montpensier as regent.

The Radical Cordova-Zorilla ministry announced its decision in favour of "restoring peace without special measures" by observing the constitution. It had a new Cortes elected in which the majority was Radical. The ministry proposed great reforms; compulsory military service, support of public worship by the provinces and communes, exclusion of the clergy from political

and administrative offices. The bishops protested. Then came the conflict with the artillery officers. These had put one of their number, Hidalgo, under "boycott," for favouring the Republican insurrection of the sergeants in 1866; the ministry appointed him captain-general of the Basque provinces; the officers protested, demanded his recall, and then resigned in a body. This was open war between the Radical government and the two most powerful bodies in Spain, the clergy and the army officers.

The Republic (1873-74).—Amadéo had had enough of this democratic royalty and the isolation in which the aristocracy left him and his court. The grandees had, contrary to custom, made no demonstration at the birth of his child. He abdicated and left Spain; on February 12, 1873, the Cortes proclaimed the Republic by 256 votes against 32, and elected a ministry.

The Republicans were not long in dividing. The Radicals, who supported the Republic, wished to preserve a centralized system and keep the Cortes elected in 1872, in which they had a majority. The old Republicans, elected by the provinces of Aragon and Andalusia, demanded a federal republic and the election of a new Cortes to make a new constitution. The Radicals rested on the Cortes, the Federalists on the ministry, in which the Cortes itself, under the pressure of opinion, had put the former leaders of the federalist Republicans: Castelar, an Andalusian, and Pi y Margall, a Catalonian. The conflict ended in a *coup d'état*. The Cortes, in adjourning in March, had left a standing committee, composed of a majority of Radicals and Alphonsists. The generals offered to rid them of the Federalist ministry; the ministry got ahead of them, drove out the committee, and convoked a Cortes for the making of a constitution (May, 1873).

The new Cortes was Federalist and elected a Federalist ministry, which proposed a federative constitution copied from the United States: Spain to be divided into self-governing states, and the Church to be separated from the state. But the Federalists agreed only in principle; they differed as to the extent of territory to be given to the states. Should each state consist of one of the old historic provinces, or one of the 48 new ones, or of a still smaller subdivision, a *canton?* Must a single state be made of Andalusia or Sevilla, of Cadiz or Cordova? The first president, Pi y Margall, a translator and disciple of Proudhon, inclined toward self-governing cantons. The *Cantonists* took advantage of this to revolt at Sevilla, Malaga, Cadiz, and Alcoy; they called themselves *intransigents*, declaring themselves so-

cialists and partisans of the International. At Alcoy the insurgents massacred a number of employers and set fire to factories with petroleum. They seized the fortified city of Carthagena, and, with the aid of the galley-slaves, defended themselves there until January, 1874.

In July, 1873, the Cortes, finding Pi too much of a Cantonist, gave the power to Salmeron, professor at the University of Madrid, an avowed adversary of capital punishment. Then, to oppose the Carlists and Cantonists, they voted the re-establishment of martial law, which permitted the shooting of insurgents. Salmeron retired in September, 1873.

The Cortes gave the presidency to the leader of the moderate Republicans, Castelar the orator, and then adjourned until the end of the year in order to give him time to restore order. Castelar, provisionally renouncing federalism and liberal government, returned to Spain's traditional resource—a centralized military dictatorship. He suspended constitutional liberties by decree, forbidding any Spaniard to leave his home without permission, commanding newspapers not to excite insurrection or approve any rebellious act, also restoring the system of warnings and suspensions for the press.

When the Cortes came together again, Castelar called for a vote of thanks, which was refused. General Pavia, governor of Madrid and a friend of Prim, offered Castelar to rid him of the Cortes. Castelar refused and resigned on January 2, 1874. Pavia made his *coup d'état* alone; without leaving the Cortes time to elect another president, he invaded their hall with his troops, on January 3, and drove out the deputies. He then handed over the power to a committee of Progressists and monarchist Radicals, under the generals. The army once more controlled the government.

The new ministry announced its intention to preserve the republic with the Constitution of 1869, and promised to convoke the Cortes, as soon as order was restored. Meanwhile, there was a military dictatorship. The government suspended the guarantees, suppressed Carlist and Cantonist publications, dissolved all political societies "which conspired by word or deed against the public safety and national honour." Marshal Serrano was appointed president of the executive power.

During all these struggles the Carlist insurrection was going on. It was a repetition of the first Carlist war. The insurgents operated at once in the west, in the Basque provinces, and in

Navarre, with a practically regular army of mountaineers, amounting to 30,000 men—in the east, in Catalonia, and the Maestrazgo, with ill-disciplined bands. Don Carlos' capital was Estella, in Navarre. As before, the peasants, incited by the priests, fought on their side or helped them secretly; while the cities resisted them. They besieged Pampeluna and Bilbao without being able to take them. As before, it was a barbaric war; prisoners were often massacred; the Carlists even shot the correspondent of a German newspaper. They broke up the railroads, fired on the trains or stopped them, and even, in Catalonia, forbade any railroad employee to approach the track under penalty of being shot.

The Restoration of 1874.—Serrano's military dictatorship satisfied neither Republicans nor Monarchists. The generals were tired of the republic and went over to the Alphonsist party. Alphonso, on attaining his majority, November 28, 1874, pronounced in favour of the constitutional monarchy: "I shall never cease to be a good Spaniard and a good Catholic like all my predecessors, and, as a man of the century, a true liberal."

The restoration was at hand. Martinez Campos proclaimed it in the *pronunciamiento* of Murviedro, December 29, 1874; the other generals joined him. Serrano offered no resistance. Alphonso XII. was recognised as King of Spain. The power passed into the hands of the Alphonsist coalition of Moderates and Unionists. Their leader was a former disciple of O'Donnell, a civilian named Canovas del Castillo.

The ministry governed for two years under the form of a dictatorship. It was busied at first with fighting the Carlists and conciliating the clergy. The Carlists made a long resistance. Finally, in February, 1876, the two armies that were operating against them forced them to take refuge in France.

The clergy had supported the Carlists, the Pope having declared Carlos VII. the legitimate King. In order to reconcile them, the government raised the church appropriation from $150,000 to thirty times that amount, and promised to settle the arrears of church salaries so far as the war expenses would allow. It closed the Protestant chapels and schools that had been established since the Revolution, abolished civil marriage, and declared that the state would settle its relations with the Church in harmony with the Holy See. The Pope thereupon consented to recognise Alphonso. But the settlement was difficult to make. The nuncio demanded a return to the Con-

cordat of 1851 and the unity of the faith. The committee appointed to draft a plan of constitution had divided into two parties: the Moderates wished to restore the Constitution of 1845, while the Unionists and Progressists, united under the name of *Constitutionalists*, upheld the Constitution of 1869; they managed to agree on a mixed scheme which admitted religious toleration.

The Cortes, finally elected in January, 1876, and composed of ministerial deputies, voted the constitution, including Article 1: "The Apostolic Catholic religion of Rome is the national religion; the nation assumes the obligation of supporting religion and its servants. No one is to be disturbed on account of his religious opinions nor for the form of his worship, provided he does not violate the respect due to Christian morality. Public exhibitions and ceremonies of any other than the national religion are forbidden." * The Pope protested against "the toleration of non-Catholics as an attack on the truth and on the rights of the Church."

The government next regulated the condition of the Basque provinces. In 1876 it set up as a principle "the constitutional unity of Spain." This meant the abolition of the *fueros*, in spite of the protests of the Basque delegates. The government ordered the local authorities to declare that they submitted in principle to the Spanish laws. On the other hand, it made the concession that these laws should be applied only gradually and that the local administrations should be preserved. But it began the work of assembling the new recruits for the army by sending a large army of occupation, to avoid troubles (1877); it also levied direct taxes and dismissed the councils that protested. Thus the second Carlist war ended in the complete union of Spain.†

The dictatorship was declared at an end and constitutional guarantees restored in the last part of 1876; but the decrees that had organized the dictatorship were not abrogated; the government held the press and public meetings at its mercy.

* The restrictions on religious liberty gave rise to a jurisprudence which forbade to non-Catholics any religious act in the street, any placard or emblem on the outside walls of buildings. The "respect due to Christian morality" has been interpreted to condemn any person who refused to remove his hat in presence of a religious procession, or of the viaticum, and to regard as a crime public mockery of a Catholic dogma.

† The Cuban insurrection, begun toward 1868, was not put down until 1878. Martinez Campos was sent to Cuba, and restored peace by making terms with the insurgents.

The Constitutional Monarchy.—The Constitution of 1876 established a liberal constitutional monarchy: the King inviolable, the ministers responsible, and the Cortes divided into two houses: a *Congress* elected by the taxpayers and a *Senate* composed of dignitaries, life members, and members elected by the provincial councils. In reality the Cortes is always, as before the revolution, of the same opinion as the ministry, and the choice of the ministry depends on the personal will of the sovereign. The King is thus master of the government.

Alfonso XII. had received a foreign military education; he busied himself almost exclusively with the army, endeavouring to organize it on the German model and to restore discipline in the official corps; he refused to restore revolted officers to their rank. He left civil affairs to the prime minister. Thus was formed a regular system of government, parliamentary in appearance, which is still in operation. The government appears to rest on the majority in the Cortes; even ministerial crises occur, apparently brought on by political questions, but in reality by personal rivalry between certain party leaders, among whom the sovereign makes his choice from variable motives.

The parties were reorganized under new names. There were two constitutional monarchist parties, who held the power alternately. The *Conservatives* wished to maintain the system established by the restoration, and accepted only financial and military reforms; they were supported by the clergy and aristocracy. The *Liberals*, also called *Constitutionalists*, later the *Dynastic Left*, declared their acceptance of the Constitution of 1869; they demanded the return to civil marriage, liberty of the press and of association, and jury trial; also extensions of suffrage until universal suffrage should be reached. This party, formed by former Progressists, has been enlarged by a number of Unionists and a fraction of the Democrats. Both parties are led by veterans of the revolution, the Conservatives by Canovas del Castillo, the Liberals by Sagasta. Outside of the constitution still exists the Carlist party of the north, very much enfeebled, and the Republican party, supported chiefly in the maritime provinces of the east. The Republicans were at first a united party, but about 1883 they divided into sections which have at times tried to work together: socialist Federalists,* under Pi y Margall; democratic

*The secret society of the *Black Hand*, discovered in 1883 among the peasants of Andalusia, seems to have been only a local movement; the scheme is supposed to have had in view the equal distribution of wealth.

Progressists, favouring revolution, under Zorilla and Salmeron; and Possibilists, under Castelar, who finally decided to support royalty.

The Conservative party that brought about the restoration was in control a long time. But Canovas, weakened by his rivalry with Martinez Campos, since 1879 general under the restoration, was abandoned by the King in his conversion of the debt in 1881. Then began a series of Liberal ministries, directed by the Sagasta-Martinez Campos coalition, and lasting until 1884. Then Canovas was restored to power and fought against the Republican press.

At the death of Alphonso in November, 1885, his widow, Maria Christina, an Austrian princess, took the regency in the name of the child about to be born, who became Alphonso XIII. She then governed in her son's name. She seemed at first to summon Liberals to the ministry by preference. In 1890 universal suffrage was restored, with the consent of the Conservative party. Universal suffrage seems to have made little change in the practical conditions of political life; the ministry continues to have the majority. Of late years the Queen Regent has rested more on the Conservative party. A Canovas ministry was maintained from July, 1890, to December, 1892, in spite of Republican protest; it resigned before the excitement produced in Madrid by Conservative administration of the municipality. But the Sagasta ministry, on its return to power, did not dare keep up the system of repression organized by Canovas against the Republicans. It weakened its position by announcing the intention of making certain economies to check the alarming growth of the deficit. The opposition was so strong that it had been able to elect 120 deputies (60 Conservatives, 50 Republicans, and even a few Carlists); the ministry could detach from the Republican party only a small group of *possibilists*, who rallied to the support of the monarchy, and it was vigorously opposed in the Cortes. The new taxes were received with riots in the Basque country and in Catalonia. Martinez Campos, governor of Catalonia, having put down a riot with great difficulty, the Anarchists of Barcelona made two attempts with bombs, one upon his family at the theatre in Barcelona, the other upon himself. The Liberal ministry replied with executions, special laws, and prosecutions against suspected Anarchists, who have accused the government of using means akin to torture in order to extract confessions. In the meantime the ministry had been driven by public opinion

into a petty war in Morocco. At length, after two reconstructions of the ministry in 1894, the Cuban revolt of 1895, with its increasing dangers for the monarchy, brought back the Canovas ministry (December, 1895). The Cuban war and, since 1896, the war against the insurgents in the Philippines, have cost much in money and men, and have absorbed all Spain's political activity.

Insurrections have become very rare; *pronunciamientos* have ceased. Spain seems to have grown accustomed to a civil government; some of the generals in 1889 even complained to the Cortes that the army no longer played the part to which it was entitled, and that the cabinets were no longer presided over by generals. The officers were also indignant at certain newspaper articles against the army; in 1889 they demanded press jurisdiction for councils of war, and in 1895 groups of officers invaded the offices of several opposition journals at Madrid.

PORTUGAL.

The Constitution of 1826.—Portugal, at the end of the eighteenth century, was, like Spain, governed by the *camarilla* and clergy; the absolute sovereign left the power to his court. The Cortes met no longer, and the grandees were pushed aside. Catholicism was obligatory; the Church controlled the censorships of books, education, and the Inquisition.

As in Spain, regeneration began with foreign occupation. The English army sent to drive out the French took possession of the country and organized the Portuguese army. The royal family had, in 1809, fled to Brazil before the French invasion, and remained there even after the restoration. Portugal was governed despotically by the English general Beresford, who was appointed commander-in-chief with a junta of regency to assist him. The government persecuted secret societies in particular. A decree of 1818 made it treason to join one. "Whosoever sells, gives, lends, or hands to another a medal, seal, symbol, picture, book, catechism, or instruction relating to these cursed societies shall be punished by transportation of from 4 to 6 years."

As in Spain, it was the army that overturned this system. It was discontented with receiving no pay and having to obey foreign commanders; many officers who had become Liberals, if not Free Masons, by reading foreign books or by contact with the English, desired a constitution. A plot to drive out the English in 1817 had met with cruel repression. But in 1820, at the

news of the Spanish insurrection, the Portuguese army also revolted; first, in the north at Oporto. Beresford was in Brazil at the time, warning the King of the danger he ran if the army were not paid. The insurgents formed a provisional government which refused to admit Beresford on his return from Brazil, and asked the King to return. They complained that Portugal was being governed as a Brazilian colony. The King, John VI., convoked the Cortes to draft a constitution; it adopted the Constitution of 1822, copied from the Spanish Constitution of 1812. The King accepted it.

Two parties were formed, *Constitutionalists* and *Absolutists*. The Constitutionalists, divided into two parties, as in Spain, were at first intrusted with the power. But the restoration of 1823 in Spain encouraged the Absolutists; the King gave them the government, and restored the old historic constitution, the pretended Charter of Lamego.

As in Spain, it was a conflict over the succession that definitively established the constitutional system. John died in 1820, leaving two sons. The elder, Pedro, had remained in Brazil and had just proclaimed himself Emperor there. The other, Miguel, had returned to Portugal with his father and became the head of the Absolutist party; but in 1824, having attempted an insurrection against his father, he had been driven from the country. Pedro, not wishing to come and reign in Portugal, yielded his rights to his seven-year-old daughter, Maria da Gloria, and promulgated the Constitutional Charter of 1826. This was a granted charter, and established a constitutional monarchy like that of Louis XVIII. in France.

The Cortes consisted of two houses, the hereditary House of Peers and the House of Deputies, elected for four years by propertied voters, the election being indirect. The Cortes had the legislative power, voting the budget and the laws, subject to the King's sanction. The executive power belonged to the King, who exercised it through his ministers. The constitution also attributed to the King the *moderating power*, conceived by Benjamin Constant; this was the right to dissolve the house, create peers, choose and dismiss the ministers—all the rights exercised by the constitutional monarchs of the period. There was nothing new in it but the phrasing of it. The constitution guaranteed in principle all the liberties of citizens—liberty of the person, of property, of residence, of the press, and of petition. Religious equality was not granted; Catholicism remained the religion of

the kingdom, but it was admitted that "no one ought to be disturbed on account of his religion." But all these guarantees might be suspended by a law or even a royal decree.

Pedro had chosen his brother Miguel as his daughter's guardian and regent, on condition that he should recognise the constitution and promise to marry the young Queen; meanwhile he intrusted the regency to his sister. The Absolutist party revolted, demanding Miguel as King, but the Regent succeeded in maintaining her position, thanks to Canning's English army (1826). But when, in 1828, the English government (Wellington) changed its policy, Miguel returned to Portugal.

He declared himself ready to accept the constitution and recognised Queen Maria; but he gave the power to the Absolutists and the clergy and dismissed the houses. He then convoked the Cortes according to the old Constitution of Lamego, and proclaimed himself King in 1829. He was supported by the army and clergy. Then began the persecution of the Liberals. According to Liberal traditions, there were, in six years, 17,000 persons executed, 16,000 transported, and 26,000 imprisoned. Miguel even arrested a number of Frenchmen and Englishmen; an English fleet, followed by a French fleet, came in 1831 to force him to give satisfaction.

Maria's supporters joined the Liberals in the struggle with Miguel.

The Azores Islands had remained faithful to Queen Maria. With the aid of the English, an expedition was prepared in these islands to reconquer Portugal. Pedro had abdicated the Empire of Brazil and was once more in Europe directing operations. The war was a long one. In 1832 Pedro had taken possession of Oporto, a Liberal centre, but could go no further. An army sent by sea to the extreme south forced Miguel to evacuate Lisbon. He continued the war in the interior with the aid of Don Carlos. The Quadruple Alliance sent a Spanish army, which finally drove Miguel from the kingdom in 1834. The Constitution of 1826 was restored. Maria became of age, and married a prince of Coburg, a kinsman of the King of Belgium. The monasteries were suppressed.

Struggles between Chartists and Septembrists (1834-52).—When Miguel was conquered he had promised, in consideration of a yearly allowance, to renounce the crown and never return to Portugal. The Absolutist party had no longer a part to play. As in Spain, the Liberals were divided into two parties. The

Chartists wished to maintain the Charter of 1826, which gave the King all the real power; the *Septembrists* wanted the Constitution of 1822, establishing the sovereignty of the people.

As in Spain, political struggles concealed personal rivalries. As in Spain, the parties fought by means of military insurrections; the officers, restive at receiving no promotion, and the soldiers at receiving no pay, determined which party should have the mastery. As in Spain, the elections always gave the majority to the party in power. But in Portugal the revolutions have been less violent, repression less cruel, and the oratorical contests less dramatic. The English, who control the wine trade, have often interfered to produce or to moderate political revolutions. The clergy have taken a much less important part than in Spain; it is also said that the Free Masons have had a more continuous influence on politics.

Like the Spanish Moderates, the Chartists have been the favourite party at court, the one that has most often occupied the ministry. The mass of the population has remained indifferent to political life. The movements are always set on foot in Lisbon, the capital, or in Oporto, the city of the north and the centre of the wine trade, or in Coïmbre, the University city. These three cities support the opposition party, corresponding to the Spanish Progressists; but that party has never been powerful and has rarely taken action except with help from discontented generals or grandees.

In 1836, at the news that the Spanish Progressists had just restored the Constitution of 1812, the Portuguese opposition party brought about a military revolt and forced the Queen to restore the Constitution of 1822. This was the revolution of September, 1836, which gave the party the name of *Septembrists*. The Septembrists took the power and reformed the constitution as the Spanish Progressists had done, making the Constitution of 1838, which gave the crown the veto on bills and established two houses.

The Septembrists lost the ministry through a military revolution in 1842. The Chartists restored the Charter of 1826 and kept the power in spite of insurrections in 1844, 1846, 1847, and 1851. Their leader, Costa Cabral, governed after the fashion of Narvaez. The party then went through an evolution toward absolutism, less marked, however, than that of the Spanish Moderates.

The Regenerators and the Deficit.—As in Spain, an opposition

coalition was formed, similar to the Liberal Union, a coalition between the Septembrists and discontented Chartists. Its leader was the old marshal Saldanha, a Chartist minister who wished to revenge himself on Cabral. The party gave itself the name of *Regenerador*, and undertook to regenerate Portugal.

The revolution of 1852 forced the Queen to give the ministry to the Regenerators. They reformed the Charter by the Additional Act of 1852, establishing direct suffrage and lowering the qualification for voting. Since 1852 the qualification has been so low as to admit nearly a half-million voters.

The party did not remain long united. Saldanha governed as a dictator; the former Septembrists became discontented and left him to form the *Historic* Left, led by a Grand Seignior of the Free Masons, the Marquis of Loulé. Later the *reformist* party was formed, and merged with the Historic Left in 1877 under the name of *Progressists*.

The number of electoral districts was diminished in 1869. Hereditary peerage was abolished in 1885. Representation of minorities was established for the election of deputies by the revision of 1884-85. Payment of deputies has been abolished. The civil codes were finally voted in 1868 and the code of procedure in 1877, conformably to the promise of the Charter of 1826.

The principal difficulty is still in voting the budget. Portugal is burdened with a debt too heavy for her resources, and still further increased by the foreign loans made by Miguel at usurious rates, which the constitutional government has accepted. The deficit, now become chronic, can be met only by loans, and thus the debt goes on increasing.

Several plans for avoiding a deficit have been tried: the number of general officers for an army of 30,000 men was reduced from 142 to 32; a part of the salaries of the office-holders was held back; food taxes were established. Pereira, minister from 1871 to 1877, tried to overcome the deficit by extending commerce and industry.

But the debt still increases. From 39,000,000 milreis in 1853 it had increased in 1873 to 233,000,000, in 1890 to 428,000,000. In forty years, 1853-92, it has increased on an average by 8,000,000 milreis a year.* It was decided in 1892 to suspend payment of the interest on two-thirds of the debt. Financial embarrassments, conflicts with the clergy on the subject of ex-

* The milreis is worth about $1.20.

communicating Free Masons (1882-84), and with the English government on the question of the African colonies (1889-92) have given Portugal an agitated public life.*

Little by little the parties have been displaced. The former Chartist party has been replaced by the Regenerators, who form the Right; the Progressists form the constitutional Left. Outside of the constitution a Republican party has sprung up in the large cities and among the students and has been organizing clubs and demonstrations since 1881. This party, encouraged by the fall of the monarchical system in Brazil in 1889, has begun a constitutional agitation and even insurrections. The government has replied with special measures and the King has even modified the constitution by decree.†

Portugal has re-entered upon a period of political crises.

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*Several times since the Spanish revolution of 1854 there has been talk of an *Iberic Union; i. e.*, a union between Spain and Portugal. The idea, originated by Spanish Republicans, has never been popular in Portugal.

†There have been several sovereigns since the death of Maria in 1853: Pedro V. in 1853, Luis I. in 1868, and Carlos I. in 1889.

‡ It has not been possible for me, with the resources at my command in Paris, to draw up a satisfactory bibliography of works in Spanish and Portuguese.

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CHAPTER XI.

ITALY.

The Restoration in Italy.—Italy, conquered by the French armies, had been for fifteen years divided into three parts, all subject to the French government: 1st, the Kingdom of Italy (Lombardy, Venetia) under Beauharnais, Napoleon's stepson; 2d, the Kingdom of Naples under Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law; 3d, the portions annexed to the French Empire (Piedmont, Genoa, Tuscany, Parma, Rome). The two Italian dynasties had fled to the islands, the court of Turin to Sardinia, the Bourbons of Naples to Sicily.

French rule did not give Italians national independence, and it imposed on them heavy military burdens; Napoleon took with him to Russia 27,000 men from the Kingdom of Italy and brought back only 1000. On the other hand, French administration introduced into Italy modern ways, equality before the law, personal liberty, and unity of laws (the Napoleonic code had become Italian law). Convent estates had been secularized. Thus the country had been prepared for political unity, and already a number of patriots were conspiring against Napoleon for the independence of the Italian nation.

The victory of the Allies made Italy's position even worse. They restored everywhere the political arrangements which had prevailed before the Revolution, except in the two Republics of Venice and Genoa, which were not re-established. The other provinces were given back to their former owners, and Italy was once more cut up into little states: the Kingdom of Sardinia enlarged by the addition of the former territory of Genoa; the duchies of Tuscany and Modena, given back to two Austrian archdukes; the duchy of Parma, given to the ex-Empress Marie Louise; the principality of Lucca, the States of the Church, the Kingdom of Naples. (Murat, first spared, then driven out, was seized for treason and shot in 1815.) Austria took her former province of Lombardy, added Venetia, and formed the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. These arrangements, begun in 1814, modified by Napoleon's return in 1815, were not completed until 1817.

All these states were monarchical, and in all of them the restored prince found himself absolute sovereign, free to re-establish the old *régime* in his own way.

The King of Sardinia officially re-established ecclesiastical authority, restored to the clergy their control of marriage, set up once more the laws punishing by death the profanation of the Host, abolished religious freedom, re-established ecclesiastical censorship of books and set apart new estates for the Church. The University was placed under a committee of overseers; in the library these locked up dangerous books, such as Montesquieu. In his hatred of France the King expelled by decree several thousands of Frenchmen and ordered the destruction of a botanic garden at Turin, as the work of the invaders. The municipal council, in order to save a bridge over the river Po, menaced by the same motive, had a church built there as a votive offering.

The Duke of Modena re-established the old laws of 1771 and persecuted the Jews. The Duke of Tuscany, in re-establishing the convents, contented himself with giving them an endowment; the former Church lands were left with their lay possessors. Tuscany had been reformed in the eighteenth century by the Emperor Leopold, and so the former system there did not differ materially from that of France.

In the States of the Church the restoration was radical. The civil administration was replaced by Church authority. The Pope re-established the Inquisition and all the convents (1824 monasteries, 612 nunneries). The country was divided into 18 legations, each governed by a Cardinal legate. Lay office-holders were dismissed, the Napoleonic Code abolished. Vaccination and street lighting in Rome were suppressed as French institutions. The Church government busied itself with the pursuit of secret societies, especially the Free Masons. But it was too feeble to suppress the brigands, who, descending from the mountains, plundered even the villas in the outskirts of Rome.

In the Kingdom of Naples, the King preserved the most important of the French institutions: the abolition of the privileges of the nobles, the French civil law and penal code, the administration of the communes by state officials (*intendants*), the system of finance and even the conscription—that is to say, the new social and administrative organization. He showed his hatred of the French by refusing to drive in the new *strada di Posilipo*, which had been built during their rule, and by stopping the excavations at Pompeii, which had been actively pushed

"during the foreign occupation." With the Church he made a compromise; he did not restore all the secularized lands, nor did he re-establish all the convents nor all the bishoprics.*

In 1806 there had been 132 bishoprics for a population of 5,000,000 souls; Murat had reduced the number to 43; the concordat made with the Pope (1818) allowed 19 archbishops and 56 bishops. The restored government was accused of capricious application of the laws; the King voluntarily pardoned the brigands who had fought in his name against the usurper Murat. A mounted band of brigands became so dangerous that the government in 1817 hired them to make war on the other brigands, then had them massacred in cold blood.

In Italy, as in Germany, the restored sovereigns did not entirely restore their former system. From the Revolution they accepted the abolition of the privileges enjoyed by the nobility (majorats,† exemption from taxes, seignioral courts), the secularization of convent lands, and the regulation of administration and finance. What they did restore was mainly the authority of the clergy and the political police; the restored system consisted in the absolute government of the court, police, and clergy.‡

It discontented the Liberals, who had become so numerous in the Italian cities, especially at Milan, at Naples, and in Romagna. These wanted a constitutional liberal government, independent of the Church.

The arrangements made by the Congress of Vienna wounded Italian national sentiment also. Metternich had refused to allow the Congress to establish a committee on Italian affairs like that which had charge of Germany: he showed that Germany was a political body; Italy, on the contrary, "represents simply a group of independent states, united under the same geographical term." Thus was dismemberment made the normal condition of Italy. And in this dismembered Italy foreigners were supreme. A foreigner, the Emperor of Austria, possessed the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom and sent to Milan, as his governor, an Austrian archduke; the three sovereigns of Tuscany, Modena, and Parma were Austrians.

Even over the sovereigns who were Italian, Austria had an

*The following figures are given, but without satisfactory authority:

1806:	47,008 priests,	25,000 monks,	26,000 nuns
1837:	26,000 "	11,400 "	9,590 "

† A right of persons holding hereditary titles to entail property in conjunction with their titles.—TR.

‡ Stendhal, who examined this *régime* carefully, gives a description of it in his famous romance, "La Chartreuse de Parme."

almost irresistible influence. She made the King of Naples promise not to introduce into his states institutions incompatible with those of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom. Metternich even tried to form between the Italian sovereigns a confederation which Austria would have controlled. The King of Sardinia, supported by the Tsar Alexander, refused to join, and upset the plan.

The political condition of Italy after 1815 may be defined by three characteristics: small states, absolute governments, and dependence upon Austria. Italian patriots and liberals demanded national unity, constitutional government, and the expulsion of outsiders. But they had to wait 30 years for a chance to work together, and agitated at first only by local revolutions.

The Military Revolutions of 1820 and 1821.—The first movements were the work of army officers and secret societies. There existed already in Italy secret societies when it was under French control. The most active of these, the *Carbonara*, had been founded probably about 1807 in the mountains of the Kingdom of Naples and recruited among the charcoal burners of Calabria. Its object was to drive out the French. Its origin is legendary, but its organization is known: the Carbonari were formed in lodges (*ventes*); the members, admitted after a ceremony of initiation, swore to obey the orders of the chiefs; the lodges were federated under the direction of the High Lodge. The *Carbonara* had its principal centre in the Kingdom of Naples; the number of members was estimated at 60,000 after 1816, among whom were many bandits who injured the society by their crimes. The Carbonari were also numerous in the States of the Pope (especially in Romagna) and in Austrian Italy (especially in Lombardy). After the restoration their aim was changed: their object now was to expel the Austrians and establish a united Italy with constitutional government; the French were no longer their enemies, and so became their allies.

At the same time Free Masonry was gaining ground in Italy. These two secret societies differed in character: the Carbonari were conspirators ready to lead an armed revolution. The Free Masons had only a humanitarian aim. But both were made up from the same classes, among the liberal middle class, which opposed the power of the clergy, and military officers, who were displeased with the restoration; both were organized in the form of a federation. Perhaps they were in secret connection through some of their chiefs who belonged to both societies; they

were jointly pursued by the governments and condemned by the Pope.* The absolutists tried to oppose them with rival absolutist societies: the *Calderari*, reorganized in 1816 by the minister of police in Naples; the *Sanfedists*, in the States of the Church. They fought each other by denunciations and murders, of which it is impossible to get an exact account.

To tell the truth, the Italian revolutionists did not succeed in organizing any original movement; they made nothing but imitation revolutions, induced by foreign example and based on programs and plans copied from foreigners. It was the Spanish revolution of 1820 that furnished the model for the Italian revolutions; they were military, like their model, at Naples in 1820, at Piedmont in 1821.

At Naples, many of the military officers had served in Murat's army; these "Muratists" reproached the government with refusing them promotion and desired a constitution. Although many officers were Carbonari, there had been no formal conspiracy: the chiefs did not dare to risk an insurrection. The revolution was begun by two sub-lieutenants of cavalry with the cry of "Long live the King and the Constitution!" They led their men toward Naples. The Carbonari followed them; the army did not stop them. The King became alarmed, and announced that he would willingly grant a constitution. Without waiting to draw up one, they promulgated the "Constitution of Spain." The King took the oath, adding an invocation of his own to God, "If I lie or break my oath, hurl the thunderbolt of thy vengeance upon my head." This constitution was democratic, modelled after the French Constitution of 1791, which gave the power to a single chamber. The King reserved the right to get this plan modified by the Assembly. The Assembly was elected and met at Naples; the majority were ready to vote the modifications which would make the constitution acceptable to the French government. But the Carbonari had founded lodges in every regiment and gathered together at Naples a general assembly of delegates from all the provinces; they bullied the government, appointed the police, and managed the work of recruiting. Their supporters in the assembly obstructed the discussion of the constitution.

In Sicily, the Palermo insurgents had first demanded an inde-

* The documents cited to prove a connection (Deschamps, "The Secret Societies and Society") were drawn up too long after the events, or else by too prejudiced witnesses, to make categorical affirmation possible.

pendent government, with a royal prince, so as to permit the existence of a personal union only. But the Sicilians had sent their representatives to the Assembly at Naples, and the people of Palermo, frightened by the prevailing massacres and pillage, concluded to recognise the government of the Neapolitans.

Austria undertook to crush the Naples rebellion. She had refused to recognise the constitution, reminding the King of the promise, made in 1815, that he would not establish in his kingdom any institution contrary to those of the Austrian states. She made preparations to send an army to Naples and re-establish the old government. The Tsar and the French government, after some hesitation, decided against the constitution, and Metternich took advantage of the occasion to secure the formulation of the theory of intervention in countries troubled by revolution. Delegates from the great powers met at Troppau, moved to Laybach, and invited the King of Naples to join them in settling the affairs of his kingdom according to the treaties.

Ferdinand set out, after swearing to the Assembly that he would speak in favour of the constitution; he returned with an Austrian army of 50,000 men sent in the name of the European powers to occupy the Kingdom of Naples and put an end to the government imposed by the Revolution.

The government of Naples got together two small armies, but after the first encounter at Rieti the soldiers disbanded and the Austrians occupied the whole kingdom without resistance. The absolutist party, restored to power, forbade any person, under penalty of death, to have arms in his possession or to wear the colors of the Carbonari. Then began a long period of accusations and prosecutions. Many liberals were condemned to death or the galleys, others were killed in the country or fled to foreign lands. In order to prevent another military revolution, the King, by a capitulation concluded for 30 years with the Swiss cantons, hired four Swiss regiments.

In the Kingdom of Sardinia, the insurrection was begun by the officers of the garrison of Alexandria (March 10, 1821). It was not simply liberal, but *national*. The insurgents swore allegiance to the Spanish Constitution, as at Naples; but in addition they set up the Italian tricolour flag (green, white, and red) and proclaimed the re-establishment of the Kingdom of Italy and its extension over the whole nation. The principal leader of the revolt, the Count of Santa Rosa, announced his intention to deliver the King and the country from the Austrians and prevent

the crushing of Neapolitan freedom. The conspirators counted on Prince Charles Albert of Carignano, who was said to be allied with the Carbonari and acquainted with the plot. The garrison at Turin followed suit and threatened to bombard the city if the King did not accept the constitution.

King Victor Emmanuel preferred to abdicate in favour of his brother, then at Modena. While awaiting the arrival of his successor he appointed as regent the Prince of Carignano, who proclaimed the constitution, swore obedience to it, and gave the power into the hands of a special State Council, until the election of the Assembly. Santa Rosa was made minister of war. But the new King, Charles Felix, was an absolutist and unfriendly to the Prince of Carignano, and he formally disavowed the acceptance of the constitution; he invited those subjects who were still faithful to resist and asked help from the Tsar. Alexander ordered 100,000 men to start. The Austrian army was already on the border. Santa Rosa, when called on by the King to hand in his resignation, asserted that the King was an Austrian prisoner and tried to lead the army and the students to attack Lombardy. The troop of liberals met the Austrians before Novara, and after a short combat dispersed. The leaders took refuge at Genoa, then left the country; a special commission condemned to death 178 of the accused, and 220 officers were discharged; the two universities were closed for a year. Metternich tried to punish the Prince of Carignano by having him deprived of his rights to the throne of Sardinia and to replace him by the Austrian Duke of Modena. But the French government supported the prince, so he was made to do penance by going with the French army to fight the Spanish liberals; he then had to promise never to grant a constitution. In 1831 the older branch expired with Charles Felix, and the Prince of Carignano became King Charles Albert.

There had also been a conspiracy at Milan against the Austrians. The Lombardo-Venetian kingdom was governed by a viceroy (the Austrian archduke Rainier) and an administration partly composed of Italians assisted by councils formed of Italian notables (the two assemblies of Lombardy and Venetia, and the 17 provincial assemblies). Metternich himself, in 1817, recommended the choice of Italians in order to show that Austria did not mean to treat the kingdom as a German province. But the liberals could ill support the Austrian legislation which had abolished jury trial and public procedure,—the secret police that

opened letters and set spies to watch suspected persons,—the censorship which had, in 1819, suppressed the liberal journal *Conciliatore*. A number of liberals, young men of the middle class, conspired at Milan (1820). Thirteen of them were arrested and condemned to death; their sentence was then commuted to imprisonment in the fortress of Spielberg. One of them was Silvio Pellico, who later became famous for his description of his captivity. Another plot in 1821 led to other condemnations.

In the duchy of Modena, where the liberals had conspired with those in Naples, a special commission passed sentence on 47 accused persons.

The Revolution of 1831.—After the failure of the military revolutions all political movement in Italy ceased (except for an uprising of the Carbonari in the Kingdom of Naples in 1827). In the States of the Church, Pope Pius VII. and his minister Gonsalvi, who favoured a pacific policy, had died in 1823 and 1824; Pope Leo XII. (1824-29) pursued a policy of abolutist restoration. He re-established ecclesiastical jurisdiction in civil affairs and the use of Latin in the courts, gave the Jesuits the direction of education and ordered prosecution of the Carbonari. Men were condemned to prison, banishment, or *precetto politico*—that is to say, to reside in a city, forbidden to go out at night, and obliged to report to the police every two weeks and to go to confession every month. Each subject was ordered to denounce any member of a secret society under penalty of the galleys.

A new revolutionary movement broke out at last, in 1830, in the states which had not been in rebellion, and against the weakest governments, at Modena, Parma, and in the States of the Church. This time the French Revolution was taken for a model: the people in the cities rose, as in France, to demand a constitution, a national guard, and liberty of the press.

The committee of Italian refugees prepared an insurrection in the States of the Church, taking advantage of an interregnum offered by the death of Pope Pius VIII., who died in 1830. Their object was uncertain; they talked of proclaiming Jerome Bonaparte or a son of Eugene Beauharnais King of Rome (Louis Napoleon was in the plot), but their great aim was to rid themselves of the government of priests and Sanfedists. The Duke of Modena was warned, had the conspirators arrested at the house of their chief Menotti, and sent for the executioner.

Immediately the conspirators in the States of the Church broke out in insurrection; first at Bologna, then in all the other towns

in Romagna, Umbria, the Marches,—everywhere except in the patrimony of St. Peter. They formed national guards, then they established provisional governments composed of nobles, doctors, and lawyers. There was no fighting; all the laymen, even the soldiers, agreed together to rid themselves of the Church officers. The deputies met at Bologna and declared without debate for "complete release from the temporal rule of the Pope and complete union in a single government." Then they published a manifesto against the Pope's administration and organized a central government composed of a president and seven ministers.

A provisional government was installed without resistance at Modena and in the duchy of Parma: there was in each a dictator assisted by three consuls.

The insurgents hoped to be sustained by France, but Louis Philippe would not risk a war. The Austrian army occupied Romagna; the insurgents treated with one of the cardinals, and submitted upon a promise of amnesty (March, 1831). The Duke of Modena was presently restored by the Austrians. The envoys of the European powers met in conference, and presented to the Pope a *memorandum* recommending certain reforms as preventive of a new revolution. The principles proposed were: 1st, That reforms must be made not only in the rebellious provinces, but in Rome; 2d, That laymen must be admitted to all judicial and administrative offices; the communes must have elective municipal councils and there should be a lay state council to restore financial order. This memorandum answered the complaints of the inhabitants, who were mainly irritated at being governed by churchmen. Pope Gregory XVI. had a scheme of reform drawn up; but the cardinals were unwilling to divide the government with laymen; they agreed to reject the election of councillors and the creation of a lay council. They would only agree to create municipal councillors, named by the Pope, and provincial councillors who had not even the right of petition. The finances were still controlled by ecclesiastical congregations; the country was still governed by prelates, the four cardinal legates in the four large provinces, the delegated *Monsignori* in the 17 others.

When the Austrian army withdrew, the liberals re-organized the national guards; the Pope's soldiers, sadly disciplined, plundered peaceable inhabitants; the legate called back the Austrians, who this time were received as liberators. The French government had declared that if the Austrians interfered again, it would

seize one of the ports as a guarantee; a French garrison arrived at Ancona (1832). This was merely a demonstration; the Pope took the city again, and the garrison was confined in the citadel until 1838.

To secure a defence against the malcontents the pontifical government hired two Swiss regiments for 20 years and encouraged the Sanfedist regiments to organize as volunteers (militi centurioni); in 1832 there were 30,000 of them under 30 commanders: they swore to sacrifice their lives and their property for the Church and its head, undertook to act as a police and to watch the liberals. Pope Gregory XVI. was more a theologian than a sovereign and left the government to his secretary of state, Lambruschini, a Genoese absolutist.

Tuscany, being the least despotic of the Italian states, had no revolution; she even received refugees. Some young men in 1831 made a plot to enter the theatre of Florence and ask the Grand Duke for a constitution, but they did not dare do it. The country remained under a paternal absolutism. In 1836, in a population of 1,780,000, there were 10,000 secular priests, 3234 monks, and 4172 nuns.

Mazzini and the Republican Party.—Up to 1831 the malcontents had agitated by local insurrections organized on the spot, and without a common program. Then began attempts to unite all Italy for concerted action.

The first was under Mazzini. He was a Genoese lawyer, an enemy to his sovereign the King of Sardinia. (The Genoese had never reconciled themselves to becoming subjects of a Piedmontese.) He was born in 1808, but had been living in exile in France until 1831; he now changed his revolutionary policy. He transferred the management of the movement to a place outside of Italy and adopted for object the establishment of a united Italy as a republic. In 1831 he founded *Young Italy*, a secret society which admitted only men over forty years of age. Then he again enlarged his program and founded *Young Europe*, to deliver the nations from monarchical governments and to establish everywhere the republic and democracy; each nation should form a republic united to the others by fraternity. In *Young Europe* each country formed a section (in 1844 there were *Young Italy*, *Young Poland*, *Young Germany*, then *Young Switzerland*, *Young France*, and *Young Spain*); the whole was directed by a central committee.

Mazzini was an enemy to the Church, but a deist and a mysti-

cist. His motto was: "Liberty, equality, humanity, a God, a sovereign, and the law of God." Young Italy was recruited mainly among the well-to-do classes: lawyers, doctors, professors, and officers; it formed a revolutionary republican party, hostile to the Carbonari, but employing the same processes,—partial uprisings and the murder of princes and traitors. They accomplished nothing but a series of unsuccessful plots, in Piedmont in 1834, and at Naples in 1844.*

The "Risorgimento."—A pacific movement toward unity began in the world of letters. It was perhaps prepared by the congress of naturalists, organized in imitation of Germany, and held each year in a different city (Pisa, Turin, Florence, Padua). It came suddenly to the front through the publication of some political works which were read all over Italy and produced the effect of manifestoes.

In 1843 Gioberti, a priest and theologian who had sought asylum in France in 1831, published "Moral and Political Headship of Italy." The essential idea of his book was that Italy, destined by God to be the centre of humanity, holds within herself forces sufficient to accomplish her mission; it would suffice for her to get back her unity under the direction of the Pope, who would be at once the chief of Italy and of the world. Since Machiavelli, the Italians had regarded the Pope as an obstacle to unity; Gioberti made the papacy the centre of the nation. But he accused the Jesuits of having compromised the Pope's situation. (He wrote against them the "Modern Jesuit.")

Count Balbo, in "The Hopes of Italy" (1844), pointed out to the Italians the faults which they must correct before they could attain independence.

The poet d'Azeglio, in "Recent Events in Romagna" (1846), recounts the struggles and persecutions of the Liberals in Romagna in 1845, and sets forth their grievances against the Church government as presented in the "Manifesto of the inhabitants of the States of the Church to the princes and peoples of Europe." While recognising the courage of the rebels, he re-

* The Sicilian massacres of 1837, during the cholera, were not political acts; the people believed themselves poisoned, and massacred all who were suspected. The government of Naples seized the opportunity to declare the Sicilians incapable of governing themselves, and revoked the ordinances of 1816, which reserved to them the civil and Church offices Henceforth there was to be no distinction between Neapolitans and Sicilians.

proached them with forgetting their main object, the deliverance of their native land.

The strange part of it was that these three authors were Piedmontese, and all three designated their sovereign, the King of Sardinia, as the principal champion of independence.

Thus began the period called *Risorgimento* (resurrection). The idea of raising Italy again spread rapidly among cultivated men. It was more a common sentiment than a party. There was no organization, not even a precise object. They desired reforms, a liberal government, and the union of all Italians; but as they did not want a revolution to expropriate the princes who were opposed to a union, they could think of nothing but a federation between the sovereigns, and all did not agree about that. Should there be three kingdoms or only two? And what place should the Pope have? These aspirations were confused, but men were agreed on two points: 1. Italy must shake off the foreign yoke; 2. She was strong enough to effect her unity without aid. The motto was given by King Charles Albert: a minister asked him how Italy would carry out her plans, and he replied: *Italia fara da se* (Italy will do it alone).

Beginning with 1846, three sovereigns encouraged the national movement: the Pope, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the King of Sardinia. At the death of Gregory XVI. (1846) the conclave, which met at once without waiting for the foreign cardinals, rejected Cardinal Lambruschini, the candidate nominated by the Absolutist and Austrian party, and elected the candidate of the Roman party, Mastai, bishop of Imola, surnamed the Good, who took the title of Pius IX. Elected in opposition to Austria and supported by France, Pius IX. immediately passed as the liberal Pope who was to realize the national dream of Gioberti. He was adored by the Liberals, and the hymn "Long live Pius IX.!" became a national chant all over Italy.

Pius IX. granted his subjects several liberal reforms: amnesty for all prisoners condemned for political offences (July, 1846), opening of a reading room, and a milder censorship for the press (March, 1847), a *Consulta di Stato*, formed of laymen, one from each province, chosen by the government for two years (April, 1847), and then a national guard (July). Prosecutions at once began against the Sanfedists, who were accused of conspiring to massacre the Liberals; some of them were executed, others arrested, and the Sanfedist volunteers were disarmed. However, when he received the members of the *Consulta*, the Pope informed

them that he was resolved to preserve all his authority. But already a political club had been organized, the *People's Club;* the Roman people began to obey their local officers; a mob went to congratulate the Swiss consul on the defeat of the Sonderbund, crying: "Death to the Jesuits!" (November 30, 1847). Mazzini wrote the Pope to place himself at the head of the national movement.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany followed the example of the Pope. He was forced to it by an agitation which was revolutionary at Leghorn, the seaport and great trade centre of the country; liberal at Florence, the capital, and at Pisa, the University city. In May, 1847, Pisa and Leghorn made a celebration in honour of Pius IX. and against the Austrians and Jesuits. The Grand Duke granted the modification of the censorship of the press, then a *Consulta* like that of the Pope, then a civic guard. At Pisa and Leghorn tricolour flags were set up. The Duke of Lucca abdicated and ceded his states to Tuscany. They abolished the Tuscan institution of *Sbires*, secret agents of the police, without uniform and now become almost hereditary.

King Charles Albert of Sardinia had hesitated long. He had become suspected by both Absolutists and Liberals for his conduct in 1821, and had forced himself to reassure the European governments by maintaining absolute government, limiting himself to having the codes revised (1837, 1840) and appointing consultative councils in the provinces. He had laboured especially to re-enforce his army; keeping each soldier only two years in the army and eight years on leave, he increased his infantry to 22,800 men in time of peace, 61,400 in time of war. But he felt himself supervised by Austria, which had come to an understanding, it was said, with his own minister of police and had got a papal nuncio established at Turin; he dared not break with either his absolutist ministers or the Jesuits; the Liberals had nicknamed him *Re Tentenna*, the Hesitating King.

The *Risorgimento* movement at last gave him courage, in 1846, to enter into conflict with Austria on a question of customs duty. The Austrian party distributed pamphlets against him; in answer to these the Genoese made a great celebration for the fiftieth anniversary of the expulsion of the Austrians (December, 1846). The English government, in rivalry with Austria, hastened to send a special envoy to Charles Albert, promising support, and urged him to conclude a customs union with the Pope and Tuscany. The King still hesitated, in spite of the congress of nat-

uralists in 1847, now become a political assembly for the discussion of reforms; in spite of the anti-Austrian manifestations in Genoa and Turin. Finally he issued the reform laws which abolished privileged courts, deprived governors of police control, increased the powers of municipal councils, and modified the censorship. To this independence movement the Austrian government replied by establishing a garrison at Ferrara and making alliances with the Dukes of Modena (1846) and Parma (December, 1847).

The Revolutions of 1848.—The excitement was so intense that the Italians did not wait to follow the example of other nations.

Since the early part of January, 1848, there had been outbreaks in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. The inhabitants had never accepted foreign rule; they boycotted the Austrian garrisons, and the Italian ladies refused to meet the German officers. The Lombardo-Venetians complained of the Austrian censorship which forbade the publication of any political discussion, of the administration where native deputies had no influence, of the secret police which had spies in every commune, and, above all, of the Austrian financial system, the octroi of cities, the taxes on the sale of drinks, on markets and bakeries, and the tobacco monopoly. It was estimated that the Emperor drew from his Italian subjects a quarter of his whole revenue, while they did not form an eighth of the population of his empire.

To strike the government in its finances, Italian patriots decided to consume no more cigars. On Sunday, January 2, at Milan, anyone showing himself in the street with a cigar was insulted or else the cigar was knocked out of his mouth. Austrian soldiers walked about smoking ostentatiously and were stoned. The dragoons charged, and a few persons were killed. Like scenes occurred at Padua between students and soldiers.

The revolution began in Sicily. The Liberals, having vainly petitioned the King, posted a call to arms all about Palermo. The government arrested ten of the leaders. On the appointed day (January 12) the people assembled, a number of insurgents made barricades: the fighting was confused, with several days intervening, from January 12 to 27; the troops bombarded the city, then retired. The general committee, composed of men of the high nobility, distributed the ministries among themselves; there was no talk of dethroning the King, the insurgents asked for nothing but the re-establishment of the Sicilian Constitution of 1812.

In Naples the mob marched before the palace crying: "Long live the King and the constitution!" Ferdinand, hearing that he could not count on the army, promulgated a constitution (January 29) on the model of the French Charter. Then he formed a ministry under a formerly proscribed Muratist and Carbonaro, Bozzelli.

This revolution, the first of all the revolutions of 1848, aroused the Liberals all over Italy. In the Kingdom of Sardinia, the Genoese had begun by demanding the expulsion of the Jesuits and the creation of a national guard. The journalists of Turin decided to hold a meeting for the discussion of reforms. Cavour proposed to demand a constitution (January 6). After the revolution of Naples, the city council of Turin, composed mainly of nobles, voted a petition to ask for the constitution and the national guard. The King decided at last and granted the Constitutional Statute (February 8), which later became the Constitution of the Kingdom of Italy. In Tuscany the Grand Duke granted a constitution, equally modelled on the French *Charte.*

At Rome the Pope, when giving his blessing to a crowd assembled under his balcony (he was then living at the Quirinal), added: "I ask you to cease making certain demands contrary to the sanctity of the Church, which I neither can, nor ought, nor will admit." But he appointed three lay ministers and, as was done in the French Revolution, granted the prayers of his subjects and promulgated the *Fundamental Statute for the temporal government of the States of the Church* (March 14). There were two councils, one of 100 deputies elected by property owners, the other of peers appointed by the Pope, a lay State Council and a ministry. But the College of Cardinals remained the supreme power, charged with the rejection or approval of laws, and, in spite of the liberty of the press, the censorship of religious books continued.

In the Italian countries occupied by Austrians the revolution of '48 was the result of the revolution in Vienna (see chap. xiii.). The Austrian government, disorganized, threatened on all sides by national revolts, abandoned its Italian provinces. The Milanese revolted; the Austrian general-in-chief, Radetzky, fearing to have his communication cut off, retired with his army into the Quadrilateral, a sort of entrenched camp formed by four strongholds, between Lombardy and Venetia. The Lombards then formed a provisional government, which tried to organize an army. At Venice, a republican lawyer, Manin, was ap-

pointed president of the provisional government, and thus proclaimed the revolution: "Long live the Republic and Saint Mark!" The Austrians abandoned Modena, which had broken out in revolution, and Parma, where the Duke gave a constitution (March, 1848).

The Liberals of Piedmont wanted to seize this occasion to drive out the Austrians; Cavour wrote, on March 23, in the *Risorgimento*, a moderate newspaper: "We, people of cool reason, accustomed to listen to the commands of reason rather than to the emotions of the heart, we say aloud there is but one way open to the nation, the government, and the King: war, and immediate war." The King decided to mobilize the army and sent it into Lombardy. The armies of Tuscany, of the Pope, and of Naples set out to join the Piedmontese army.

Until now the revolution had been liberal, monarchical, and national. In the various states the people had hoisted the tricolour flag, the symbol of Italian unity, and the princes had appeared disposed to unite against the foreigner.

Internal Discords.—There were two causes of weakness in this revolution. 1. The Italians had not sufficient military force to drive out the foreign power without help; the Sardinian army, the only one that was ready for war, consisted of only 60,000 men, two-thirds of whom were in the reserve. 2. They were not agreed on the form of government they wished to adopt; the Absolutists desired a return of the old government; the Liberals, after having worked together, split into two hostile parties, the constitutional monarchists and the radical republicans; each of the two had its own solution of the national problem. The Monarchist party desired to establish unity by a federation between the princes; its leaders were notable Liberals who relied upon the governments. The Republican party, directed by Mazzini and his friends, wished to convoke a general parliament to determine the fate of Italy; it was recruited among the people in the large cities, especially Genoa, Milan, Rome, Leghorn, and Naples, and looked for the support of the French Republicans.

The struggle between the three parties began. The Constitutionalists predominated in the north of Italy, the Republicans in the centre, and the Absolutists in the south. The south started the reaction. The Chamber which was elected in the Kingdom of Naples in accordance with the new constitution was composed of Liberal Constitutionalists; before it had time to meet the King took advantage of a Republican outbreak in Naples to

dissolve it (May 15); he then suppressed the daily papers and recalled the army which he had sent to the aid of the Piedmontese. The Calabrians revolted and were subdued. A new Chamber, elected by incomplete elections, came together in July; it expressed its regret at the recall of the troops, because "the resurrection of Naples cannot be accomplished without independence and the establishment of Italian nationality," and demanded the completion of the elections and the control of the budget. But the Absolutist ministry, encouraged by the Austrian victory, adjourned the Chamber (September 5) and suppressed the Liberal newspapers. They then sent the army to reconquer Sicily. The Sicilian Parliament, in session since March 25, had first demanded that Sicily should be united to Naples by a personal union only; then, on the refusal of the King, had declared the throne vacant and the dynasty excluded (April 13). But in the choice of the new King of Sicily they had hesitated between a Tuscan prince who was supported by the Pope, and a Piedmontese prince; they had chosen the Piedmontese, the Duke of Genoa, second son of King Charles Albert, but the King had refused (August). This had led to a real war. The Neapolitan army landed in Sicily, bombarded Messina, seized and plundered it (September, 1848). Ferdinand was nicknamed "Re Bomba" (King Bomba). The French and English governments imposed an armistice; the war stopped until March, 1849. In 1849 the Sicilian Parliament rejected Ferdinand's ultimatum, decreed that all citizens between 18 and 30 years of age should become soldiers, and gave the command to a Polish Republican, Mieroslawski; but he had almost no regular troops. The war was reduced to one battle in the streets of Catani; the Neapolitan soldiers dared not advance, and the barricade was forced by a Swiss regiment. The Liberal leaders left the country, and the revolutionary government resigned its powers into the hands of the municipal council of Palermo; the Sicilian cities surrendered. Ferdinand promised them a constitution, an amnesty, a viceroy, a national guard, and the recognition of the debt of the revolutionary government; but he kept none of his promises. Sicily found herself once more under an absolute government (May, 1849). In the Kingdom of Naples the Absolutist restoration was already accomplished; the King had dissolved the Chamber (March 13). Then began political prosecutions; of 114 deputies, two-thirds were condemned to death, to prison, or banishment. Gladstone, in the English Parliament,

accused the government of treating persons condemned for political action as criminals.

In the centre of Italy, the Republican party profited first by the indignation against the King of Naples. The Pope had refused the rôle of president of a federation of Italian princes and leader of the Democratic party. Already, in the allocution of April 29, 1848, he protested against the accusation of having been the cause of the Italian revolutions; he declared that he had always exhorted his subjects to obedience and had had no intention of declaring war upon Austria. He entered into conflict with his lay ministry, struck out from his speech at the opening of the Chambers a passage upon nationalities,* promulgated a press law drawn up by the Dominicans (June 4). He refused the request of the Chambers to separate the powers of head of the Church and of sovereign of the State and to declare his ministers responsible to the Chambers. He then formed a new ministry. Its head, Rossi, formerly ambassador to France, tried to resist at once the Republican party and the Church restoration party. The day of the reopening of the houses he was assassinated in Rome (November 5). The Republican party demanded a constituent assembly, the mob advanced on the Quirinal. The Pope sent word to the European ambassadors that he was yielding to violence, then he fled to the Kingdom of Naples (November 24), leaving his power in the hands of a number of prelates and conservative laymen; but these were not allowed to act. The Liberals then formed a provisional government, which tried to prevent the rupture; but the Pope threatened to excommunicate any who should take part in the election. The Constituent Assembly, elected in spite of this threat, declared the Pope stripped of his temporal power and proclaimed the Roman Republic (February 9, 1849). The government was placed in the hands of a triumvirate with Mazzini at the head. He invited all the Italians to elect deputies to a general Constituent Assembly to establish Italian unity.

In Tuscany the government had forbidden clubs and political meetings, but it could not carry out this order; at Leghorn the Republicans repulsed the soldiers (September 2), and their chief, the poet Guerazzi, now master of Leghorn, obliged the Duke to

* "God has here below, by differences of tongue, of soil, of races, and of customs, established nations that they might live their own lives in their own way . . . and God has given to Italy all these ineffaceable characteristics."

call him to the ministry. The Republican party, in the name of national sovereignty, demanded a constituent assembly elected by universal suffrage. The Chamber, elected by the property owners, frightened by the Republicans in the galleries, voted a constitituent assembly (January, 1849). The Grand Duke fled. A band of Republicans invaded the Chamber and gave the government to a triumvirate (February 9); then, on the advice of Mazzini, they proclaimed the Republic.

In Lombardy the provisional government of liberal monarchists, in order to cut short the republican agitation which Mazzini had begun at Milan, had determined upon *fusion* with the Kingdom of Sardinia. That the Republicans' own principle might be applied, the decision was left to the sovereign people. The Lombards were called upon to pronounce by universal suffrage "if the annexation of Lombardy to constitutional Piedmont should take place at once or be postponed." There were 561,000 for immediate annexation against 681 opposed (May 28, 1848). In Venetia the fusion was voted by an assembly of notables, 127 against 6 (July 2). All northern Italy was thus united in a single constitutional kingdom.

The Reaction.—As in 1821 and 1831, foreign armies effected the restoration. The Austrian army, in a single combat (at Custozza, July 24), put to flight the Sardinian army, and reconquered all of Lombardy. Radetzky, invested with unlimited powers, levied a special tax on all who had taken part in the revolution and set up a military government. Venetia alone remained a republic, and the assembly gave the dictatorship to Manin under the form of a triumvirate (August 13, 1848).

The Kingdom of Sardinia had simply arranged an armistice with Austria; England and France offered their mediation, but they could not agree on the constitution to give Lombardy. In March, 1849, the King of Sardinia, supported by the Chamber, began the national war again; this was at the time when Austria was occupied with Hungary. The Sardinian army had been increased to 85,000 men, but they were untrained and demoralized. A single defeat (Novara, March 23) made resistance impossible; Charles Albert abdicated to facilitate peace. His son Victor Emmanuel secured peace by paying a war indemnity. Venice surrendered after a long siege (August 22). Lombardy remained until 1851 subject to summary jurisdiction (*Standrecht*). The Austrian general, Haynau, who had taken Brescia by storm, was nicknamed the "hyena of Brescia"; he was even reproached

with having had women beaten. The most horrible thing to Italians was the penalty of whipping, which the Austrians had retained for their soldiers and now applied to the Italians. The government granted an amnesty, but excepted from it 86 notables, and later sequestered the estates of Lombards who had fled to Piedmont.

The duchies of Modena and Parma, which had joined Piedmont, were occupied by Austrians. The re-established dukes restored their absolutist government, persecuted the Liberals and clerical partisans of national unity, and concluded a customs union with Austria.

In Tuscany the Liberals tried to drive out the Austrians by forming, at Florence, a provisional government, and recalling the Grand Duke; the Republican party kept only Leghorn. But the Austrian army occupied Tuscany and remained there until 1859, and the Grand Duke, under the pressure of the Austrian government, finally (1852) withdrew the Constitution of 1848 and revived censorship of the press. Tuscany was more oppressed than before the revolution.

Four Catholic powers, France, Spain, Austria, and Naples, offered the aid of their armies to the Pope against the Roman Republic. The Neapolitans, who approached from the south, were driven back by the Republican forces; Spain sent only two ships. The Austrians occupied only the northern part of the States of the Church, the Romagna, where they remained until 1850.

It was the French expedition that undertook to win back the city of Rome. The head of the Republic (established in March), Mazzini, and the most popular general, Garibaldi, were both from northern Italy: Mazzini from Genoa, Garibaldi from Nice. An army of volunteers had been organized; those of Garibaldi wore red shirts (at first blue) and the Calabrian plumed hat; a committee on barricades had been appointed. The French government at first sent only a small army, hoping to enter Rome without a battle, with the aid of the Liberal Monarchists; their object was simply to re-establish the Pope and at the same time preserve the liberal institutions; they were counting on a Liberal proclamation from the Pope, which they did not get. The French army attempted a surprise, and was repulsed by the Romans.

The fate of Rome hung on the struggle between political parties in France; the President and the Catholic Right in the As-

sembly decided on the war in spite of the Republican party. The Roman expedition ended in the siege and capture of the city (June 30, 1849). The Pope granted an amnesty, but with 283 exceptions. He re-established the government of the Cardinals, and Cardinal Antonelli, now secretary of state, rejected the reforms proposed by France as contrary to the papal sovereignty. Nothing was done beyond creating a *consulta* of laymen appointed by the Pope and absolutely without power.

The Constitutional Kingdom of Sardinia (1849-58).—The revolution of 1848 had failed. Nothing remained of it with the people but memories, miseries, and deceptions; with the governments, an even greater contempt for the press, liberal ideas, and the bourgeoisie; deficit in the finances, foreign garrisons all over central Italy (the Austrians in the duchies and the Romagna, and the French in Rome). The national tricolour flag, once adopted by all the states, was abandoned. Italy found herself once more, as in 1848, parcelled out and dependent upon foreign powers.

One state alone avoided the restoration and issued transformed from the crisis. The Kingdom of Sardinia preserved the liberal Constitution of '48 and the national tricolour flag; it became the centre where Italian unity was prepared. It was a sufficiently commonplace state, with a population of less than 5,000,000, composed of four separate parts; the island of Sardinia, a malarial country, poor, mediæval, and without political life; the coast of Genoa, a country of sailors, newly admitted to the state, ill disposed toward the dynasty, and the centre of the democratic republican party; Savoy, a rural French district, controlled by the nobles and clergy; Piedmont, a country of rustics, without industrial activity, with a single large city, Turin, the residence of the court.

The society was aristocratic, with sharper class distinctions than in Italy. The nobles held aloof from the middle class; preserving the traditions of military life, they usually became officers. The peasants continued to obey the clergy. The bourgeoisie, mostly of slender wealth, remained dependent upon the government. These people spoke a dialect very different from literary Italian, Piedmontese, considered a patois; to other Italians, uncultivated, coarse, backward, and only half Italian. But they had a political advantage over all the other peoples of Italy: they possessed an independent national dynasty and an army that could fight.

Charles Albert of Sardinia had been hated by the Liberals; they could not forgive him for deserting them in 1821 and for having preserved the absolutist government; even in 1848 they remained hostile and even suspected him of treason. Now the advocates of unity were all Liberals; to make Piedmont the centre of the national movement, it must first be reconciled with liberal opinion. This was the work of Victor Emmanuel and Cavour.

At the time of the general reaction in 1849, Victor Emmanuel remained faithful to the liberal system. Austria offered to modify the conditions of peace if he would renounce the Constitutional Statute of 1848; he refused. He abandoned neither the national tricolour flag nor the liberty of the press, and he gathered Liberal fugitives from other countries. His kingdom became the sole liberal and national state in Italy.

The Constitutional Statute of 1849 was a combination of the French Charte and the Belgian Constitution. It established a parliamentary mechanism composed of a ministry responsible to the Chambers, a Senate of life members appointed by the King in two special classes, and a Chamber of Deputies elected by the property owners. It was a more democratic *régime* than in France (the tax qualification for voting was 40 francs or 20 francs, according to the place), but less liberal than in Belgium. The Statute announced neither the sovereignty of the people nor personal rights; it was simply a proclaimed constitution, without procedure for revision; it did not recognise liberty of faith, but declared Catholicism the state religion; it granted no salary to deputies; it left room for doubt as to the extent of the ministerial responsibility.

In fact the system has worked after the model of the English Parliament; the Statute has been modified often (and more easily than a revisable constitution) by means of laws passed in the usual form; the King has taken only those ministers that are accepted by the majority in the House. But the mass of electors has remained docile to the government, dissolution being usually a sufficient means of securing a majority favourable to the ministry which the King supports. The King thus remains the arbiter between parties, the true director of political life. The system really is, under a parliamentary appearance, the personal government of the King, as in France under Louis Philippe.

During the war against Austria the electors, excited by the national movement, had returned a democratic majority which

had obliged the King to take a ministry under Gioberti and now aspired to secure unity by a federation of the Italian states. After the defeat of 1849, the Chamber was not willing to vote approval of the peace. Now the constitution demanded that the treaty with Austria should be ratified by the Chamber. There were three Chambers elected that year (January, dissolved March 30; July, dissolved November 20; and December). The King published an appeal to the voters and secured a Chamber which voted the peace by 112 votes against 17 (January, 1850).

Then, in order to apply the article of the Statute which declared the King to be the fountain of justice, it became necessary to abolish the Church Courts. The government, having failed in its attempt to have the Holy See abolish them by concordat, decided to have the Chambers vote the famous "Siccardi laws" (Siccardi was minister of justice), which suppressed the right of asylum in convents, the clerical privilege of not being amenable to lay justice, the penalties for labour on ordinary holy days, and forbade the acquisition of possessions in mortmain without the consent of the state. A rupture ensued between the government and the higher clergy; the Archbishop of Turin forbade obedience to these laws, and was condemned to a month's imprisonment. One of the ministers died without absolution and the clergy refused to bury him; his funeral was made the occasion of a demonstration.

This struggle made the final arrangement of parties. There was an extreme right, absolutist and opposed to the constitution, an extreme left, democratic (recruited mainly in Genoa) and hostile to the dynasty; between the two the great constitutional dynastic mass divided into two groups: the *right*, the Conservative party supporting the constitution, and the *left centre*, detached from the Democratic party and now become a part of the liberal and anti-clerical bourgeoisie.

Cavour's Policy.—In this constitutional government, where the King, first of all a hunter and an army officer, took little interest in politics, there was a minister, Cavour, who controlled the state. Benzo di Cavour was a gentleman who could hardly be called Italian; he was blonde, with a white skin, and spoke almost nothing but French and the Piedmontese patois. He had been first an artillery officer, but was discharged for having approved the revolution of 1830, and retired to his own estates; he then spent his time travelling in France, where he frequented Broglie's salon and adopted the liberal doctrines of the French bourgeoisie,

and in Germany, where he absorbed ideas of economic reforms. In 1847 he was one of the founders of the *Risorgimento* in Turin, a liberal monarchical paper. During the Revolution he struggled against the democratic party so violently as to make himself unpopular. But during this reaction he defended the constitution and the liberty of the press. In the discussion of Church laws, he broke loose from the Conservative party and began to form a *right centre*, which approached the left centre directed by Ratazzi. Cavour first entered the ministry in 1850 as a special minister (agriculture, commerce, marine) under Azeglio (Conservative). In 1852 he left the Conservatives and formed the Cavour-Ratazzi ministry, which had the support of the two centres and lasted until 1859.

Cavour henceforth laboured to prepare for the contest with Austria by increasing the country's forces and seeking foreign allies.

To increase the wealth of the country, he attempted by means of commercial treaties to revive Genoa's shipping trade, and to develop the exportation of agricultural produce. His economic reforms revived the struggle with the clergy. He proposed to place a tax on Church estates, to secularize the lands of worn-out orders, and to establish a Church treasury to equalize the salaries of priests. He did not touch the 41 bishoprics (1 for every 149,000 souls) nor the secular clergy; but his plan for suppressing convents was enough to stamp him as an enemy to the Church. The Pope threatened the government with excommunication; then, as Victor Emmanuel had within one month lost his mother, his wife, and his brother, the Pope sent him a letter representing these deaths as a warning from God. The King hesitated, but nevertheless sanctioned the law which suppressed 334 convents with 4280 monks and 1200 nuns; 264 remained. The army under the direction of La Marmora, was reorganized on the Prussian model.

For outside agitation Cavour placed himself in connection with the advocates of Italian unity. There were already in the kingdom many Italian refugees, mainly Lombards. Several of the Republicans of 1848, despairing of a union by republic, turned toward the House of Savoy. The most noted convert was Manin, the former dictator of Venice. He wrote publicly (in the *Siècle*, September 15, 1855) that his motto was "Independence and unity," and, addressing himself to the King of Sardinia: "Make Italy, and I and all other Republican patriots are for you

and with you; if not, not." Other patriots joined him. In August, 1857, they founded the *National Union*, a public society in Piedmont, a secret society in the absolutist states. It won support especially among cultivated city people, and especially in northern Italy and Sicily (the secretary was a Sicilian, La Farina *). The Union carried on its work by pacific propagandism and disapproved of conspiracies and insurrections. It was in conflict with the former Republican party, with Mazzini, who founded a secret society in Genoa against the monarchy and incited trouble in Genoa, Naples, and Leghorn. The Piedmont papers began to attack the Austrian government openly; a subscription was started in Italy to buy cannon for the fortress of Alexandria in Piedmont, another for a monument in honour of the Italian army.

Cavour did not believe, with the patriots of 1848, that Italy was strong enough to act alone; since he had become minister of foreign affairs he had been looking for alliances. He was a great admirer of the English Constitution, and did not forget the former friendly relations between Piedmont and England; but he needed an ally with a strong army. He early thought of Napoleon III. To please him, he had had voted, in spite of the left, the law forbidding insults to foreign sovereigns. In the Crimean war he allied Sardinia with France and England against Russia, although the Genoese thereby lost their trade with Odessa; he sent into the Crimea a Sardinian army at the expense of the state, refusing English subsidies. The kingdom did not draw any direct profit from this war, but it gave Cavour a chance to take part in the Congress of 1856. He took advantage of this opportunity to get Napoleon to ask him for a report on the condition of Italy, and to thank him immediately in the name of all the Italians. He took advantage of it at the end of the Congress to present a report on the agitation in the States of the Church caused by the Austrian occupation.

His success hung on the personal will of Napoleon. The latter had in his youth sworn to work for Italian unity. It seems as if he was prevailed on to act by Orsini's attempts at assassination, and especially by the letter which Orsini had written him, conjuring him to restore the freedom of Italy. He sent his physician

* La Farina tells that he was in secret communication with Cavour; they had interviews in the early morning, and Cavour said to him: "Do what you can. Before the world I shall deny you as Peter denied the Saviour."

to invite Cavour to a personal interview at Plombières. At this interview an understanding was completed. It was a bargain: Napoleon promised to deliver the whole Lombardo-Venetian kingdom as far as the Adriatic; Cavour, in return, promised him Savoy and Nice.

Formation of the Kingdom of Italy (1859-60).—The union of Italy was accomplished by all the Italian advocates of unity, royalists and republicans, working in harmony with the Piedmontese government, aided by a great European power, first France, then Prussia. The process occupied eleven years and was made in five successive annexations: Lombardy, 1859; Tuscany, Modena and Parma, Romagna, January, 1860; Kingdom of Naples, the Marches, and Umbria, at the end of 1860; Venetia, 1866; Rome, 1870. The first three operations formed a continuous series which ended in the creation of the Kingdom of Italy.

War against Austria had been decided upon at Plombières; but it was necessary to await a cause for declaring it; England, which wished peace, proposed a congress; Napoleon consented to it. Cavour became desperate and already talked of blowing out his brains. But Austria, instead of agreeing to the congress, sent an ultimatum to Sardinia. War was declared.

This was not a war between states, but between parties. Austria represented absolute government, Church domination, and temporal power of the Pope; the conservative parties and the clergy all over Europe prayed for her success in the *Revolution* (they combined under this name all the constitutional and national attempts); even in France the ministers and the *salons* disapproved of the war. The Sardinian government represented national unity and liberal government; it had on its side all Italian patriots, Free Masons, and even Republicans, and in Europe all liberal democratic anti-clerical parties. To leave the King master, the Chamber of Sardinia conferred on him the dictatorship. The *National Union* declared itself dissolved; there were neither clubs nor newspapers. Garibaldi with his volunteers attacked the Austrian flank, in conjunction with the regular army. After the battle of Magenta the Austrians evacuated the whole of Lombardy; when coming back to take it again they were stopped at Solferino. But the "Quadrilateral" covered Venetia; Napoleon, seeing his army hard pressed and threatened by Prussia, which was mobilizing her troops, decided to conclude peace. Austria gave up only Lombardy, which was annexed to the

Kingdom of Sardinia without a plebiscite, as if it had never ceased to be a part of it since 1848. It was a cruel deception for the Italians; they reproached Napoleon with having broken the compact made at Plombières (Italy to be "freed as far as the Adriatic"). Cavour first refused peace; then, in despair, resigned.

But during the war Victor Emmanuel had called the Italians to arms. At his call, the advocates of unity had, immediately after the departure of the Austrian soldiers, formed provisional governments in the three duchies of central Italy and in the pontifical provinces farthest from Rome, the Legations (Romagna). The movement had been arranged beforehand with the Sardinian government; these provisional governments gave the power to a dictator, a member of the *National Union*, sometimes a Sardinian office-holder. In Tuscany the two parties, democratic and aristocratic, united and demanded the abdication of the Grand Duke and war with Austria; the Grand Duke refused and went away. A provisional government was formed immediately (April 27), and offered the dictatorship to Victor Emmanuel; the King accepted only the military management, but sent an agent to whom the government was intrusted. When the war was over, the Sardinian agent went home; the *Consulta* convoked an assembly of deputies who voted the expulsion of the dynasty and annexation to Sardinia (August, 1859). The dictators of Modena and Parma had the inhabitants vote for annexation to Piedmont: at Modena by 90,000 votes, at Parma by 63,000 (August, 1859). In the Romagna they elected a constitutional convention, which declared unanimously, in the name of the people, "that they did not want the temporal government of the Pope," then "that they did want annexation to the Kingdom of Sardinia" (September, 1859).

It was harder to make the European powers accept this "revolution," and they were really the arbiters of the fate of Italy. Napoleon and the Emperor of Austria had decided together that central Italy should remain divided into small states, united simply in a confederation; it was the tradition of French policy to keep Italy divided up like Germany; in Tuscany, Napoleon would have liked to establish his cousin Jerome. Besides, the Pope protested against the revolution in the Romagna, and the French government did not dare act against the Pope. For eight months central Italy lived in uncertainty, at the mercy of diplomatic intrigues. Meanwhile, Modena, Parma, and the Romagna adopted the constitution of Sardinia, suppressed the customs

duties on the frontiers toward Sardinia, handed over the post-offices to Sardinian employees, and formed a union under the name of the *royal provinces of Emilia.* They then formed a military league with Tuscany.

The Italians were planning now to bring Napoleon face to face with an accomplished fact; they kept him from interfering by treating him as a liberator, and imploring his aid in the name of his own principles, nationality and the right of universal suffrage. Napoleon wanted to settle matters through a congress. The congress was called, but never met, as the Pope would not consent to it. In Piedmont the Republican party, irritated with these delays, wished to begin fighting again; they founded a society, the *Nazione Armata,* which should revolutionize Italy. The coalition of the centres, which had been governing since 1852, broke up; the right centre and the King were unwilling to act against Napoleon. Ratazzi resigned; Cavour took the ministry (January 20, 1860) and persuaded Napoleon to permit the annexation of central Italy, for the price set at Plombières: Savoy and the county of Nice. They avoided the formality of a treaty of cession; all these annexations were simply put to a vote by universal suffrage (March, 1860) and carried almost unanimously. The new provinces then elected their delegates to the Chamber at Turin, which took the name of the *National Parliament.*

The royalists had gained central Italy, the republicans assumed control of the south.

The government of Naples was defended mainly by Swiss regiments. Now, in 1859, Perugia had revolted against the Pope, and had been taken by a Swiss regiment; the irritation of the patriots had therefore been directed against the Swiss mercenaries established in Italian cities, which, menaced in their commerce, remonstrated with the Swiss federal government. The Swiss government ordered the withdrawal of the Swiss national emblems from the flags of the mercenaries. The Swiss regiments in the service of Naples mutinied, refusing to serve under any other flag, and the majority of the soldiers withdrew. So the King of Naples was left with almost none but Neapolitan soldiers, who had little interest in defending him. Victor Emmanuel offered him an alliance and tried to make him grant a constitution (1859); Ferdinand refused (March, 1860). Revolutionary committees were formed in Sicily, and insurrection began, supported by the Italians of the north.

Garibaldi, secretly aided by the Sardinian government,* landed in Sicily with a thousand volunteers, mainly Lombards (the famous Marsala Thousand). A short combat (Calatafimi, May 17), a night march by the Garibaldians on Palermo (May 26), an armistice (May 30), and the Neapolitan army retired in disorder. Garibaldi, although master of Sicily, prepared to return to the continent. Ferdinand asked aid of Napoleon, who replied: "The Italians are shrewd, they know very well that after having shed the blood of my children in the cause of their nationality, I can never fire a cannon in opposition to it." Then Ferdinand determined to re-establish the Constitution of '48 and the tricolour flag, to take a liberal ministry and convoke the Chambers. But he no longer inspired confidence. He felt himself abandoned, and when Garibaldi's army invaded the Kingdom of Naples, he dared not resist, and fled to Gaeta. He wanted to take his fleet, but the Neapolitan officers had had their boilers emptied and their helms put out of order, so the fleet remained. Garibaldi was received in triumph at Naples. There remained now to the King but two places of refuge, Capua and Gaeta, and these were taken later.

The Garibaldians next invaded the States of the Church. The Pope, to replace his Swiss mercenaries, had enrolled a small army of volunteers (about 20,000 men), mainly foreigners—Austrians, Irish, Belgians, and French, under a French general, Lamoricière; in addition to these, Rome had, since 1849, retained its French garrison. The war began between the Italian Republicans and the Pope's Catholic army. Cavour determined to in-

* Garibaldi, after the war, had been appointed general in Tuscany, then charged by Victor Emmanuel with the formation of the national guard in Lombardy. Dissatisfied with the Sardinian government, which had prevented him while in Tuscany from attacking the States of the Church (November, 1859); dissatisfied with the pacific policy of the *National Union* (he resigned his office of honorary president in December, 1859); still more dissatisfied with the cession of Nice, his native home, he had resigned. It was said that he was urged against Sicily by Cavour, who had written to him: "Nice or Sicily." The letter is disputed. It was said that the Sardinian government sent to Garibaldi the guns from the arsenal of Modena, furnished him money, and ordered the governor of Genoa to close his eyes to his preparations. When the expedition was fairly started, Cavour wrote officially to the European powers, expressing his regret, but Admiral Persano, commander of the fleet, says that he received from Cavour a note to this effect: "Try to place yourself between Garibaldi and the Neapolitan cruisers; I hope you understand me." Persano is said to have replied: "My lord, I believe I do understand you. If there is need, send me to the fortress prison of Fenestrella."

terfere and called upon the pontifical government to disband its foreign soldiers, "who are an insult to national feeling and prevent the people from expressing their wishes." To Napoleon he wrote: "We are forced to take action." Napoleon washed his hands of the whole affair.* The Piedmontese army rapidly occupied the provinces of the Marches and Umbria. The Pope's little army, while retreating to Ancona, was checked and scattered (Castelfidardo, September 18); the rest were taken at Ancona. The agents of the Sardinian government had a vote taken by universal suffrage on the question of annexation to the constitutional monarchy of Victor Emmanuel (November, 1860). The vote was almost unanimous in favour of the annexation.

In the country conquered by the Republicans there was a heavy struggle (August-October, 1860). Garibaldi, "dictator of Sicily" and later "dictator of the two Sicilies," obeyed the Republican party, under the direction of the Sicilian, Crispi; he refused annexation to the Kingdom of Italy. The liberal monarchists, directed by the pro-dictators of Sicily and Naples (Depretis, Pallavicino), insisted upon annexation. The people of Naples then made their demonstration of "yes's." They showed their wishes by placing in their hats, their windows, and their doors a paper bearing the word *si* (yes). Garibaldi at last decided to put the question of annexation to vote. It was voted in Naples by 1,302,074 votes against 10,132; in Sicily by 432,053 votes against 667.

The Parliament, composed of 413 deputies and 214 senators, proclaimed Victor Emmanuel King of Italy, "King by the grace of God and by act of the people" (February-March, 1861). His kingdom had increased from 5,000,000 to 22,000,000 souls.

The Roman Question (1860-66).—The Kingdom of Italy still lacked Venetia and the province of Rome. The Italians were not strong enough to take Venetia from the Austrians, nor Rome from the defenders of the Pope. The process of union stopped, and Italian politics became absorbed with the *Roman question.*

This question had been before them since 1859, when the Pope's subjects in the Romagna had rejected the temporal power. What should be the fate of the States of the Church? Four parties were organized, each with a solution.

* Two messengers are said to have carried a letter from Victor Emmanuel to Napoleon, at Chambéry; according to one of them, Cialdini, Napoleon replied: "Good luck and act promptly." This reply has taken the legendary form: "Act, but act quickly."

1. The Pope and his minister Antonelli declared themselves unable to renounce the temporal power over any of the States of the Church; the Pope regarded himself as bound by his oath at accession to hand them over intact to his successor. He therefore excommunicated his rebellious subjects, also the Sardinian King and government for having agreed to the annexation. He refused to recognise the Kingdom of Italy, "a creation of revolution." His general, Lamoricière, said to his soldiers: "Europe is threatened to-day by revolution as she once was by Islam, and to-day as then the cause of the papacy and of civilization is that of the liberty of the world." He wrote: "Everywhere that revolution shows the tip of its ear or its nose, it must be struck down like a mad dog."

2. The Italian Republican party was really preparing for revolution; Garibaldi and Mazzini demanded open war to deliver the papal subjects from the "tyranny of priests." They wished to employ volunteers as they had done against the King of Naples.

Between these two extreme parties, pontifical restoration and Republican revolution, two parties were seeking an intermediate solution.

3. Napoleon III. had to take care not to irritate the Catholic party too much, as it was very powerful in France; he would have preferred not to touch the temporal power; he asked only a constitution given by the Pope as in 1848. After the insurrection in the Romagna, he advised the Pope to sacrifice a part of the States of the Church in order to retain the rest. The anonymous pamphlet on "The Pope and the Congress," which he got published in December, 1859, showed that restoration in the Romagna was out of the question: the Pope needs a temporal power in order to exercise his spiritual power freely, but he cannot govern a state of any size; the Catholic powers should guarantee him only Rome and the patrimony of St. Peter. The Pope denounced this pamphlet as "a monument of hypocrisy" and refused to take part in the congress if the suggestion were not discountenanced. Napoleon also let the Pope lose the Marches and Umbria, and in a new pamphlet had it said that Italy and the Pope must eventually reconcile themselves; meanwhile, he maintained the French garrison in Rome to preserve the temporal power in the interests of religion.

4. The Italian government found itself in a false position, not wishing to break with the Pope, the head of the Catholics, not being able to encourage the revolutionists openly, for fear of

Europe, nor to attack Rome for fear of France, and not daring either to fight the revolutionists or to abandon Rome for fear of popular opinion at home. The King was a good Catholic and continued to address the Pope in respectful terms. Cavour declared publicly before the Chamber that the question must be left in suspense (March 28, 1861): "Rome must be the capital of Italy. Without Rome for her capital Italy cannot be definitely constituted." But he added that two conditions were necessary: harmony with France and the maintenance of the Pope's spiritual sovereignty. His motto was: "A free Church in a free state," that is to say, the clergy governing the faithful in spiritual affairs without intervention from the state. The Chamber passed a resolution to the same effect.

Then began a period of waiting and senseless intrigue. The Catholic party did not resign itself to the spoliation of the Pope, nor did the national parties give up hope of Rome. But the decision depended upon the will of foreign powers, especially France. Garibaldi tried to repeat his expedition of 1860; the Ratazzi ministry let him land in Sicily, but afterward stopped him at Aspromonte in Calabria; they then declared themselves unable to answer for order in Italy if the government was hindered from giving the nation its capital (1862). But the result was to drive Napoleon to the side of the Pope's party, and to compel the Ratazzi ministry to resign.

The Italian government then decided to postpone the solution; it offered Napoleon to transfer its capital to Florence and to take the rôle of defender of the Pope; this was Cavour's plan. Napoleon agreed to it in order to get rid of the conflicts between his French generals and the court of Rome. This had as outcome the *September Convention* of 1864. Italy promised to stop her attacks on the Pope's territory, to defend it from all outside attacks, and to let the Pope enroll an army of volunteers. France promised to withdraw her troops in two years. The Italian government left Turin and transferred itself to Florence; the French army finally evacuated Rome in 1866. The solution of the Roman question was postponed.

Annexation of Venetia and Rome (1866-70).—As usual, the solution came from outside. The Prussian government needed Italy to help it in its war against Austria. It had been making overtures since 1862; but the two governments lacked confidence in one another, each suspecting that the other wanted to make use of its help to secure more favourable conditions from Austria.

Italy hoped to gain Venetia without fighting, in return for a money compensation, or with Napoleon's aid, in exchange for Roumania. At last Prussia and Italy concluded, with Napoleon's consent, an offensive and defensive alliance for three months only (April, 1866). The Italian army attacked the Quadrilateral and was stopped at Custozza. It had begun once more to invade Venetia, when the Italian fleet was half destroyed at Lissa. It was the Prussians' victory at Sadowa that decided Austria in favour of peace. She accepted Napoleon's mediation, granting him Venetia, which he gave to Italy, on condition that the annexation was approved by universal suffrage. (The vote was carried almost unanimously.)

Rome now remained defended only by the Papal volunteers. Garibaldi, for the third time, taking advantage of a Ratazzi ministry, attacked the Roman territory. The Italian government had vainly implored Napoleon to intrust to it alone the protection of the Pope. Napoleon had little faith in Italian intervention, and sent a French expedition which accompanied the papal troops against Garibaldi. The famous battle of Mentana ensued; the Garibaldians were killed or taken prisoners under the very eyes of the Italian army, which had arrived on papal territory and was obliged to remain neutral (November 3, 1867). The French used the new Chassepot gun for the first time, and the French general telegraphed: "The Chassepots have worked splendidly." This message rankled in Italian minds as an insult. In Paris, the head of the ministry, Rouher, formally declared to the Chamber: "Italy will not enter Rome. No, never!" A French garrison was left in Rome (December 5). The Pope then felt safe in summoning the ecumenical council of the Vatican for December, 1869.

Once more the solution came from abroad. The war between France and Germany robbed the Pope of his defender. After the first French defeats, the Emperor's government recalled the French troops from Rome (August, 1870). After Sedan, the Italian army invaded the papal territory and arrived before Rome. Pius IX. declared that he would yield only to force, and waited until a breach was made in the wall before he ordered his troops to retire (September 20). The Italians occupied Rome without a battle. The question of annexation to the Kingdom of Italy was submitted to universal suffrage, and was voted by 130,000 against 1500.

The Kingdom of Italy was finally constituted under the na-

tional dynasty of Piedmont, through the agreement of the two national parties, republicans and constitutionalists, but chiefly through the aid of two foreign powers, France and Prussia.

Formation of Parties and Internal Difficulties (1861-70).—The sudden creation of the Kingdom of Italy had upset the conditions of public life. The constitution of the Kingdom of Sardinia having been extended to the new provinces, it was necessary to adjust anew the administrative system, the relations with the Church, the finances, and the army, and new parties had formed.

The extreme parties, absolutist and republican, had been greatly weakened by the success of the constitutional monarchy; they had almost no representation in the Chamber. The Pope had given the Catholics the watchword *Neither electors nor members*, and so the Catholic party had almost disappeared. The republicans had taken the form of a radical party with a small membership. The Chamber was therefore composed almost entirely of the two constitutional parties, the right (Minghetti and Ricasoli) and left centre (Ratazzi). Cavour had died in 1861.

The ministry alternated between these two parties, chiefly for reasons of foreign policy. Ratazzi, who had succeeded to the ministry as Napoleon's friend (1862), fell before the protestations of the French government after Aspromonte; he foundered on the same rock again in 1867, after Mentana.

The groups formed chiefly on local lines. The Piedmontese (the former kingdom), supported by the deputies of central Italy, were in control the greater part of the time; the deputies from the south, with a part of the Lombards, opposed them—usually in the guise of a radical party.

The first matter taken up was that of organizing the administration. Minghetti proposed to give a degree of autonomy to the provinces. The great majority preferred the centralizing system used in France, with prefects and mayors appointed by the central government; they divided the kingdom into 59 provinces, corresponding not to the old historic provinces, but to departments.* They hoped thus to strengthen the unity which was threatened by the particularist spirit. They feared especially to arouse a feeling of jealousy in other cities in choosing one to be the capital of a whole province.

In the Kingdom of Naples, the brigands and idle mountaineers, acting in the name of King Ferdinand and aided by

*There are 69 since the annexation of Rome and Venetia; they bear the names of cities.

the absolutists, terrorized the inhabitants, forbade them to pay taxes, and kidnapped or murdered all liberals. The Italian army for several years waged a veritable war against them in the mountain districts. But it seems that they did not succeed in destroying either the *Camorra* in Naples or the *Mafia* in Sicily, secret societies of brigands who preyed on the inhabitants and made them pay tribute under pain of robbery or assassination.

Church affairs were in an inextricable tangle. The right, which ordinarily was in control, was formed of Catholic liberals, faithful to Cavour's program: "A free Church in a free state." They freely renounced the powers of the former governments over the bishops in Church matters, and would even leave the Pope the right of naming the bishops. They wanted an understanding with the Holy See to reorganize the Church in the new provinces where the clergy were too numerous. But the Pope, refusing to recognise the new kingdom, made it impossible to conclude a new regulation and even to transact ordinary affairs; the bishoprics therefore remained vacant, the Pope appointing bishops who refused to be installed by the government. They had hoped to settle all this in 1866; the negotiation failed because the Pope would not recognise any right of the state, and the question of the appointment of bishops remained unsettled.

The government then resigned itself to carrying on the work of reform alone; it did not interfere with the bishops, but adopted a fiscal measure. It suppressed the convents and livings which, having no cure of souls, were regarded as useless. It declared their lands state property. The seminaries were reduced from 288 to 21 (1867). The secularized lands were sold for the benefit of the state, which in exchange charged itself with the support of the clergy.

The Italian army was still the former Piedmontese army, with Italian recruits added to it. The same system was retained as to active army and reserve. Local military bodies, each recruited in its own region, were objected to as dangerous to unity. The army was regarded as a school for national sentiment where soldiers of all provinces must learn to regard each other as fellow-countrymen; it was also a primary school for raw recruits who enlisted without knowing how to read (64 per cent. in 1866).

Of these difficulties the greatest was the organization of the finances. The army, maintained at a high effective force to be always ready for the next war, and a newly created navy, entailed an expenditure disproportionate to the wealth of the coun-

try. The following table, taken from a report published in 1863,* shows the difference between the budgets of the separate states in 1859 and the budget of the united kingdom in 1863:

	Receipts.	Deficit.	Debt.
1863	575,000,000fr.	50,000,000fr.	2,000,000,000fr.
1859	900,000,000	350,000,000	4,000,000,000

In 1864 the treasury was empty, and the city of Brescia set the patriotic example of paying its taxes in advance. Half of the total receipts was absorbed by the interest on the debt; the annual deficit was covered only by new loans.

The Consorteria (1861-76).—For fifteen years (1861-76) Italy's domestic policy was subordinated to military and economic necessities. This was the period of business ministries, without distinct political character. The chief ministers were from the constitutional right, Italians of the north and centre: Minghetti was a Piedmontese, Sella a Lombard, Ricasoli a Tuscan, Fanti a native of Romagna. They were called the *Consorteria* (club). In various combinations they held the ministry most of the time; Ratazzi twice succeeded in dislodging them by forming a coalition of the left centre, the radicals and the discontented Piedmontese, but his ministries were short (March-October, 1862; April-October, 1867). The Piedmontese were displeased at losing the capital, transferred from Turin to Florence, and for several years formed a party (the *permanents*), but in 1869 they made a reconciliation with a ministry of the right (Menabrea-Minghetti).

The Consorteria governed during the critical period of the deficit and the sharp conflict with the Pope. Finally Sella, minister of finance, persuaded the Chamber to adopt an heroic measure. The deficit had reached 630,000,000.†

In 1868 they re-established the grist tax, which had been abolished in 1859 as too unpopular. They also created new taxes to the amount of about 150,000,000. The sale of secularized lands procured over 500,000,000 (from 1868 to 1876). In 1873 they made banknotes legal tender.

* Plebano and Musso, "The Finances of the Kingdom of Italy," 1863. These figures are only approximate.

† According to Sella's calculations, the total expenditure from 1861 to 1870 had been 10,499,000,000; the receipts 10,054,000,000, of which 3,607,000,000 were special receipts, mainly loans. To borrow 2,691,000,000 the state had contracted a nominal debt of 3,852,000,000, and paid 1,219,000,000 as interest.

The Consorteria had also the task of adjusting relations with the Pope after the taking of Rome. The Italian government was transferred to Rome, as the definite capital of the kingdom; the King established himself in the Quirinal Palace. The Pope's situation was settled by the *law of guarantees* (1871). The Pope, recognised as an independent sovereign, preserved, in his Palace of the Vatican, his sovereign powers, right to receive diplomatic agents, jurisdiction, guard, and archives; Italy engaged to grant him a civil list of three and a quarter millions. In exchange for his temporal power, the state gave up to him its powers over the Italian clergy, recognised his right to appoint the bishops, abolished the bishops' oath to the King, the *placet* and the *exequatur*. But Pius IX. nevertheless excommunicated the invaders, and declared himself "morally a prisoner," making a rule for himself never to leave the Vatican again; he refused to enter into relations with the Italian government, and even to receive the civil list. The ministry, which had never ceased to avow its respect for the Holy Father, found itself, face to face with Europe and the Italians, in a very delicate situation.

As the Pope persisted in his refusal to recognise the Kingdom of Italy, the occupation of Rome remained an actual possession, although not recognised by the Catholics and exposed to the chance of a restoration. The Catholic party, especially in France, protested against the captivity of the Holy Father, and talked of re-establishing the temporal power by force of arms, as in 1849. From the time that the Catholic monarchists assumed control in France in 1873 until the check of May 16 (1877), the Italian government thought itself threatened with a French expedition. Now the "Consorteria" had been the French party; it had made the alliance with Napoleon and had been attacked by the republicans and radicals; in 1870, its sympathies were with France. In 1871, relations with the French government became so cool that the ministry decided to increase the army to resist, as it said, "the clerical party, which might make itself seem the national party in other countries."

The Pope's attitude made it impossible to settle by a concordat the question of the Roman convents, or to make regular provision for the bishoprics which had become vacant (89 in 1871). The government secularized the Roman convents by a law, and their possessions were turned over to the treasury (1873). It proposed a law to make civil marriage compulsory (1873), but postponed the discussion in order not to aggravate the situation.

The Pope continued to fill vacant bishoprics, and the bishops entered upon their office without asking the consent of the government, confining themselves to publishing the bull of nomination in the sacristy; and the government contented itself with this. The Catholic party tried to regain its position in political life; a congress of Catholic societies (1874) determined to vote everywhere at the communal elections in order to establish municipalities favourable to Christian schools; the Catholics had not yet voted except at Naples (1872); they failed at first, but succeeded in a number of cities in 1875.

It was also a ministry of the right that carried the law for compulsory military service like that of Prussia, with a one-year volunteer system.

The policy of the ministry of the right remained defensive; Minghetti summed up his program in two points: balanced budget, independent Church.

Accession of the Left (1876).—Little by little the proportion of parties in the Chamber had changed. The left was growing. This party, called *radical*, had allied itself to royalty; at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the King's accession (1874) the party declared that "so far as attachment to the King and the House of Savoy are concerned, the Left is not a hair's breadth behind the Right." At the election of 1874 there were returned only 288 members for the government and 220 for the opposition. For the first time party divisions were entirely geographical: northern Italy voted for the right and the ministry, southern Italy for the left.

The Tuscans, who had vainly borne the expense of installing the government in Florence, where it had remained only six years, formed a party and joined the left; the ministry was put in minority on the grist tax by a vote of 242 against 181. A Sicilian, Depretis, formerly Garibaldi's agent, formed the first ministry of the left, in which southern Italians predominated (March, 1876). It changed a large number of prefects, then obtained a dissolution. The Chamber was in large part new men; only 332 of the 508 deputies retained their seats. Sicily and Naples, instead of 149 deputies of the Left against 45 of the Right, returned 184 of the Left. There were 385 members for the government, 94 for the Right, and 20 Republicans. Since 1876 the Right, properly speaking, has never regained the majority.

To understand the political contests of the last twenty years

in Italy, it is necessary to study the practical conditions of electoral and parliamentary life. Under the Constitution of 1848 the right of voting had been confined to property owners paying a tax of 40 francs; now in the greater part of Italy the land belonged to large landholders, and the peasants were only tenants; the number of voters scarcely exceeded 600,000; even after the reform of 1882 it did not exceed 2,000,000. Even in this restricted voting body, the great majority remained indifferent to politics; the number of votes is rarely a half of the registered names, and, further, among the voters a large proportion vote for the candidate supported by the administration. The ministry is almost sure of getting a majority of its candidates elected.

The Chamber itself has little political activity. The deputies receive no pay, and so cannot afford to stay at their own expense all through the session; so, many are absent or come only to vote. Since the capital has been at Rome, the Italians of the north, being the farthest from the centre (and perhaps the most occupied with private business), have left the Chamber in the hands of Sicilian and Neapolitan deputies. The direction of Italy has changed hands, passing from the people of the north to those of the south. Now, the north alone had the habits of regular administration and liberal monarchy; the south, where political interest had always taken the form of revolution, had no strength of attachment either to the constitution or to the monarchy, which had both come from the north; it has furnished the great mass and all the chiefs of the radical members. Thus was established the domination of both the south and the radical party. The Catholics, by obeying the order of the Holy See to abstain from the parliamentary elections, have diminished the number of Conservative voters and weakened the Right in the same degree.

The Left, which had attained power through the personal influence of the voters of southern Italy and the abstention of the Catholics, supported a democratic platform, hostile to the Church: extension of the right of voting, abolition of the grist tax, compulsory primary instruction, administrative and judicial reforms, "liberty of conscience," or measures against the abuse of clerical influence, state administration of Church revenues. But the party, united in the struggle for power, divided on the attainment of it; it broke into personal groups supporting rival chiefs.

The division first took the form of a difference in policy: the

ministry of March 25, 1876, headed by a former ally of Ratazzi, the Sicilian Depretis, came forward with a moderate left program; it postponed the abolition of the grist tax, justifying this by the deficit; it even forbade a public meeting on the question. One of the Radical leaders who had sustained the ministry, Cairoli, made a coalition with the remaining leaders of the opposition and joined the Right. The ministry broke up, and two months after the death of Victor Emmanuel (January 9, 1878) was formed the Cairoli ministry (March 23), which took for its program the diminution of the taxes. The budget, upset by this reform, remained at first in deficit. But the years of prosperity which followed produced equilibrium and even a small excess about 1889.

The electoral reform, so long under discussion, ended in the law of 1882. The left did not want universal suffrage, which would have put the votes of the ignorant and wretched peasants at the service of the landowners. They limited themselves to lowering the voting qualification, based on property, to the payment of about four dollars in taxes or the possession of a hundred-dollar farm. They added an educational qualification, conferring the right of voting on all men of full age who gave evidence of having completed the prescribed course of the primary schools. This reform carried the number of voters from 627,000 to 2,048,000. Of these 710,000 get the right in virtue of paying taxes, and 1,338,000 through the educational qualification. The rearrangement of electoral districts established 135 divisions of the kingdom, in each of which two or more deputies were to be elected. The whole number assigned to any division had to be chosen by general ticket (*scrutin de liste*). In any division having five or more, to elect, the individual voter could only vote for four. The whole system was, however, abandoned in 1891, and single-member district substituted.

The Triple Alliance and Personal Rivalries.—Since the Left attained power, Italy's political history has been a series of personal contests, parliamentary intrigues, secret negotiations, coalitions and ruptures between parties, and sudden transfers of power. The real reasons for these actions are hard for a foreigner to penetrate, and even the Italians are not agreed on a true interpretation. But the salient features of the period are the personal rivalries and the predominance of foreign policy.

The Left divided itself into groups of members, each attached to a chief by friendship or business ties. The great leaders were

two Sicilians: Depretis, formerly pro-dictator in 1860; Crispi, formerly Garibaldi's minister, a Republican, "rallied" to the monarchy; and three Neapolitans, Cairoli, Nicotera, Zanardelli. Being unable to agree so far as to occupy the ministry at the same time, they contended for the possession of it. The groups of the chiefs in power formed the ministerial party, the groups of the chiefs shut out from the ministry formed the opposition. The ministry was constituted only by the coalition of several leaders, and it had to be maintained against men of their own party in opposition. The Right either joined the opposition Left to defeat the ministry, or joined a minority of the Left in supporting a ministry distasteful to the majority of the Left. The ministers could therefore depend only on passing alliances between the rival groups; the combinations varied with the personal relations of the chiefs, and sometimes they were overturned by accidents which compromised one of these (Nicotera in 1877, after the revelation of his past; Crispi, 1878, after an accusation of bigamy).

All these rivalries increased the King's personal influence; being empowered to decide between the rivals, he succeeded in choosing his ministers according to his personal preferences, at the same time preserving the outward form of the parliamentary system. It seems that he chose them according to the demands of his foreign policy; so that domestic policy must still, as before the union, be controlled by relations with foreign powers.

The French alliance party had been the Right, the northern Italians, whom the French had delivered from Austria; even to-day Milan remains the centre of opinion favourable to France. The Left, Sicilians, Neapolitans, and Romans, was the natural enemy of Catholic France, which had defended the Pope against the Kingdom of Italy. It tended therefore to look toward Germany. The Left attained power at the same time that the French Catholic party began its campaign to re-establish the temporal power (1877); this decided the Italian government to cease its isolation policy and to seek terms of alliance with Germany (1878).

Germany, however, had allied itself with Austria, the old enemy of the Italian Republicans; and France, after the victory of the Republican party, ceased to threaten Rome. The Italian government wavered several years between the German states and France.

The Depretis ministry had favoured Germany, Cairoli pre-

ferred France. To meet the Depretis-Nicotera-Crispi coalition Cairoli leaned at once on the two extremes, the Right and the Republicans; he granted complete freedom of speech and of public meeting, declaring that the monarchy had nothing to fear from liberty.

The Republican party had but a small membership in the Chamber, but was very active in the large cities (especially Milan and Rome); it adopted the policy of the Radicals, and began to agitate in the name of national sentiment. A number of patriots declared Italy incomplete, and demanded the restoration of provinces speaking the Italian language but occupied by foreign powers: the Tyrol and Trieste by Austria, Nice and Corsica by France, Malta by England; this was *Italia irredenta* (unredeemed Italy). The *Irredentist* party threatened Austria, especially by sending to the malcontents in the Tyrol and in Trieste messengers and calls to revolution. The Cairoli ministry permitted free agitation by the *Irredentist* republicans. The excitement increased; a cook, Passanante, tried to assassinate the King at Naples (November, 1878); *Barsanti Clubs* were formed in honour of Barsanti, a subordinate officer who was shot for disobedience, and later *Oberdank Clubs* (Oberdank was a young student of Trieste condemned to death in 1882 for having conspired to assassinate the Emperor of Austria). The German governments, as in Cavour's time, suspected the Italian government of secretly encouraging the republican agitation for the delivery of Italian provinces in foreign control. Austria advanced troops toward the frontier and remained in very cool relations with Italy. This was the period of the Cairoli ministries (1878-81).*

But when France took possession of Tunis, in spite of Italy's objections, public opinion turned suddenly against France, and Cairoli, France's friend, fell beyond hope of recall. Depretis and Crispi, Germany's supporters, took the ministry, concluded the Triple Alliance, and stopped all the Irredentist and Republican agitations.

Depretis quarrelled very soon with his allies of the Left, but kept his position through the King's favour. He declared that

*December 18, 1878, the Depretis ministry, without a platform and without a majority, was overthrown by Cairoli and Nicotera.—July 12, 1879, the Cairoli ministry was left in minority, reconstructed November 24 by a Cairoli-Depretis coalition, and overthrown by a Crispi-Nicotera-Zanardelli coalition in April, 1880; retained its place by means of a dissolution: overthrown again April 7, 1881, but once more re-established;—May 28, 1881, Depretis ministry.

the Left had exhausted his platform of 1876 and limited himself to maintaining the constitution and the national monarchy, or, in other words, to fighting the Republicans; he called upon the members of the Right who were willing to join him. This he called the *transformismo* (September, 1882). Depretis governed (1882-87) with a coalition of Centres against the other chiefs of the Left. His system was to abandon ministers who were too sharply attacked and to reconstruct a new ministry from the remains of the old one (he formed eight ministries). The five other chiefs of the Left declared this system unconstitutional and formed (November, 1883) a general coalition of deputies from central Italy, which became known as the *Pentarchy* (Cairoli, Crispi, Nicotera, Zanardelli, and Baccharini). A new socialist party began to make its appearance at the elections of 1886, chiefly in Lombardy and the Romagna; the ministry fought against it and dissolved all the workingmen's clubs.

But this ministry failed in its colonial policy. The Pentarchists profited by the expenditure and failure of the Abyssinian expedition (begun in 1885) to force Depretis to take into his ministry two of their men, Crispi and Zanardelli (April, 1887). Depretis died in July. (Successive Depretis ministries: May 28, 1882; August, 1883; 1884; 1885; 1887.)

Crispi's Government (1887-96).—Crispi supplanted Depretis in the King's confidence, and pursued Depretis' policy, the Triple Alliance and war on the Republicans. He also advocated a new classification of parties, declaring that the terms *Right* and *Left* had lost their significance, and that what Italy needed was two great constitutional parties. He affirmed that his ministry would be strictly parliamentary, that he loved liberty and wished for peace, both at home and abroad; he announced no great reform projects, but simply the intention of improving the administration of justice, the management of education, the army, industry, and trade. He placed his reliance on the Left, which promised him a large majority. His administration was mainly occupied with combatting the opponents of the monarchy—the Pope, the Republicans, the *Irredentists*, and the Socialists.

Depretis had tried to settle the Church question by a reconciliation with the Pope; the King said, in 1887, that the relations with the Holy See were going to become better; but Leo XIII. refused to renounce his temporal power, and Crispi opened the contest once more. The new penal code (1889) punished with imprisonment and hard labour any attempt against the unity of the state, and with one year's imprisonment any servant of the

Church who should, in the performance of his office, criticise any action on the part of the government.

Crispi placed the Republican and *Irredentist* agitation in the hands of the police. He suppressed the demonstrations of the unemployed in Rome (February, 1888), dissolved the committee on Trieste and Trent as menacing the alliance with Austria, "the foundation of the peace of Europe, and the guarantee of Italian independence and unity," forbade the celebration in honour of Oberdank (1889), the celebration in memory of the Roman Republic of 1849, the democratic congress at Catania, and declared the Barsanti and Oberdank clubs disbanded (August, 1890). He even had the King dismiss one of his own colleagues, the minister of finance, for having listened without protest to an *Irredentist* speech at a banquet.

He declared himself an enthusiastic advocate of the Triple Alliance (March 17, 1888); and, in spite of the enormous charges on the budget, protested against any idea of disbanding the army (February, 1889). "If," he said, "Italy alone disarmed, she would commit a crime" (November, 1890). He continued his attempts on the Red Sea, where he finally succeeded in establishing the colony of Erythrea and the protectorate over the Abyssinian Empire.

The expenses of this colonial policy and the business crisis upset the balance of the budget. In 1887 Italy entered upon a chronic state of deficit, and Italian bonds began to fall again. The opposition Right in the Chamber and the Republican party through the country began to attack the government on its financial policy, and demanded a reduction of military expenses. But Crispi had the King on his side, the great head of the army, and as he controlled the elections, he secured for himself a devoted majority in the House. The Chamber elected in November, 1890, after a dissolution, was four-fifths made up of supporters of the ministry. Italy, like France under the Guizot ministry, was, though under parliamentary forms, governed by a partnership between the King and his prime minister. But Crispi had in his Republican past learned to consider public opinion and to try and make himself popular. Contrary to the demands of the Republicans, he appealed to patriotism, presenting the military monarchy and the Triple Alliance as necessary guarantees of Italian unity, threatened by France and the Pope, and defending the Red Sea expeditions in the name of the honour of the Italian armies. The violent attacks made by French papers furthered his policy, for, in reproaching Crispi with

megalomania, they wounded Italian pride, for all Italy was desirous of becoming a colonial power. As far as one can see into Italian opinion, it seems that Crispi must have given the impression, to the middle classes at least, of being the one minister necessary to Italian honour.

He lost his ministry suddenly in January, 1891, by an ill-judged remark in the Chamber, which offended the deputies of the Right,* and for over two years he was excluded from the ministry. It was, however, only an intermission.

First came a ministry of the Right under di Rudini, re-enforced by one of the leaders of the Left, Nicotera (February 9, 1891), which announced itself in favour of an economic policy and "fidelity to alliances"; the only reform was the suppression of the general ticket. It sought a reconciliation with the Pope, and to get him to recognise the law of guarantees of 1871; the Pope replied (allocution of December 14, 1891), complaining of both parties, the one that "wished to deal the death blow to the papacy" (Crispi), and the one that "wished to subject the Church to the state" (the Right), both of which hindered communication with believers; he demanded the complete independence of Rome.

Then came a ministry of the Left under Giolitti, without Crispi (May 15, 1892), which, by dissolving the Chamber, gained for itself an enormous majority. It was, however, compromised by the Roman Bank scandal, when the discovery was made that it had illegally issued 65,000,000 of notes (January, 1893); the parliamentary committee of investigation presented a report "regretting" and "disapproving" the irregularities, naming the deputies guilty of indiscretion, among them a minister, a personal friend of Giolitti, and proving that the ministry had been aware of the situation since 1889. The Giolitti ministry retired (November, 1893).

Crispi then resumed power and held it until 1896, reconstructing his ministry but once (June, 1894). The Left seemed to have broken its monarchist coalition with the Right, in order to resume its former democratic platform. Crispi demanded an elective Senate, pay for deputies, and reduction of the standing army (speech at Palermo, November, 1892). He declared himself "the apostle of peace, not of war," and like his models, Mazzini and Garibaldi, the supporter of the federation of the

* In the course of debate Crispi referred to the foreign policy pursued by the ministries up to 1876 (the Right). He was reproached with having said that their policy had been "servile toward foreign powers."

nations (speech at the unveiling of the monument to Garibaldi, October, 1893). But once more at the head of the ministry, he presented himself as a government of public safety against the attacks of Republicans and Socialists. He appealed, as before, to all the constitutional parties to defend the monarchy and build up its injured credit and its burdened finances. "Our country's situation is graver than ever. . . We need harmony in the Chambers without party difference; I invite you to arrange a truce of God. . . Until 1890 we worked to secure material unity of our country; now we must secure moral unity" (declaration of December 20, 1893). "Let us press close about the King, who is the symbol of unity" (May, 1894).

Since then Italian politics have centred in the contest between Crispi and the opponents of monarchy. The Socialists had organized trade unions, especially in Lombardy, Carrara, and Romagna. In Sicily they have taken advantage of the wretched condition of the unsophisticated peasants, at the mercy of the great landlords, to unite them in *labour organizations* (*fasci*). The Sicilian *fasci* have stirred up bread riots (1893). The government seized the occasion to put the island under martial law (January, 1894), to send troops, to procure the condemnation of the Socialist leaders by military courts,* to suppress all through Italy the right of public meeting and suspend the liberty of the press. In order to ward off a deficit, it decreed increase in taxes and in customs duties. The ministry induced the Chambers to grant it special powers. Crispi, the King's confidential minister, has governed as a dictator; the old democratic Left, now a part of the government, has adopted the old absolutist methods to stop the progress of the new democracy. It has seemed even to give up the fight against its traditional opponent and to try to gain favour with the Catholic party by making peace with the Pope.

The Republican party has stripped for the contest; it attacks in the Chamber every policy adopted by the ministry, represents measures of repression as contrary to the liberty promised by the constitution, colonial expeditions and armaments as the causes of the economic and financial crisis, the Triple Alliance as the cause for armament. It demands liberty of the press, public

* Molinari, a lawyer, leader of the socialist party of Carrara marble-cutters, was condemned to 23 years imprisonment for having founded a society to destroy the family and private property. De Felice, a deputy, a member of the central committee of the Sicilian *fasci*, was condemned to 18 years hard labour for having signed a manifesto.

meeting and association, disarmament or reduction in military expenses, and neutrality toward Germany and France. Since the government decreed the dissolution of all the socialist or labour societies (October 22, 1894), the Republicans have founded the "League for the Protection of Liberty."

Crispi, finding his support in the Chamber becoming less ardent, had the House adjourned, then dissolved (May, 1895); in a manifesto speech he declared that the voters must choose between "the national monarchy" and "social, moral, and political anarchy," and invited "all good citizens to rally round the King"; he gave assurance that the financial crisis was at an end. As is usual in Italy, there was a large government majority in the new Chamber (355 against 172), which approved the taxes imposed by the government. The Radicals and Socialists had, however, gained seats; the meetings of the Chamber became more excited; the deputies disputed over the amnesty, and Cavallotti published a violent pamphlet against Crispi. A partial amnesty for persons condemned for political offences was not enough to conciliate the revolutionists. The two oppositions, Right and Left, joined against Crispi; di Rudini, the leader of the Right, reproached him with suppressing the liberty of the press, confusing socialists with anarchists, and compromising the prosperity of the nation.

As always in Italy, foreign policy determined the outcome of domestic affairs. The disaster to the Italian army in Abyssinia compelled Crispi to retire (March, 1896). The Conservative ministry (di Rudini), which the King consented to take, has retained its position, without having to dissolve the Chamber, by pursuing a policy of conciliation, peace, and economy. It has granted political amnesty, renounced the conquest of Abyssinia, and reduced colonial expenditure. It seems, however, to maintain itself in a very unstable equilibrium.

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CHAPTER XII.

GERMANY BEFORE THE UNION.

Germany in 1814.—Germany retained, even in the eighteenth century, the old confused organization of the Holy Roman Empire. In outward appearance it was a federal state with an elective sovereign, the Emperor, and a federal assembly, the Diet. But the organs of this federal government had no real power; each particular state, though theoretically subject to the Emperor, was practically independent. In these states, which were organized under the most diverse constitutions, the sovereigns were of every sort, king, duke, prince, count, bishop or abbot, knight, and city corporation; their internal governments were of the most varied character, but with one common trait: all these petty governments were absolute. This confused Empire had no precise limit; a number of the sovereigns had possessions both within the Empire and outside (Austria, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden), and made little distinction between their imperial and foreign provinces.

The French wars lessened this confusion. In Germany, as in the Netherlands, Switzerland, Spain, and Italy, the French invasion swept away ancient institutions and prepared the ground for the modern nation. But this clearing of the ground had not been completed. The Emperor and the Diet had disappeared, but there still remained an Austrian Emperor. Napoleon had destroyed the smallest and least promising states, the knights of the Empire, the Church States, and the free cities (with the exception of six); the number of sovereigns had decreased from about 300 to 38, and there remained only the lay princes. This work of simplification had, however, been accomplished only in the south, where the suppressed states had been divided up among four states. In the north the petty princes had not been disturbed (Anhalt, Lippe, Reuss, the Saxon duchies, etc.), so the region of small states was no longer Southern but Northern Germany. Many princes had taken new titles, and there were five kings (Hanover, Prussia, Saxony, Wurtemburg, and Bavaria). Their royalty, however, was not entirely independent.

In the region that had been directly subject to France (the left bank of the Rhine) French customs were firmly fixed, civil equality, personal liberty, and regular, uniform administration. The princes of Southern Germany copied this system in their states, but in the other states the old *régime* had been maintained. Sweden and France had severed their connection with Germany, but there remained five rulers of territory in Germany who also had possessions outside: two of these were German sovereigns, the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia; three of them were foreign sovereigns, the King of Denmark (as Duke of Holstein), the King of England (as King of Hanover), and the King of the Netherlands (as Duke of Luxemburg).

Germany was still, therefore, in 1814, under a *régime* of small states with incomplete sovereignty, of absolutism and of criss-cross with foreign sovereigns. She had been only partly modernized and must still pass through a long crisis before getting rid of the remnants of her old *régime*.

Formation of the Germanic Confederation (1815).—After the French had been driven out, the Germans felt the need of organizing a stronger state than the old Empire for resisting French attacks. But they had no definite idea as to the exact form to give this state.

Many patriots, brought up under the Holy Roman Empire, were attached to this venerable form of government under which Germany had attained her period of grandeur in the Middle Ages. Baron vom Stein, a mediatized knight, formerly a direct subject of the Emperor, could not imagine Germany under any system but the Empire. Assuming the Empire, the Emperor could not be of any house but Hapsburg, the royal house of Austria; he would form, together with the leading princes, a *Directorium* to direct affairs of common interest. This plan of restoration met with irresistible opposition. The Emperor of Austria was no longer interested in establishing a Germany where the King of Prussia would be more powerful than he; he refused to accept the imperial crown, preferring to remain Emperor of Austria and to content himself with a diplomatic influence over the governments of the small German states. The German princes were unwilling to submit themselves to a central government which in practice would have been composed of the Emperor and the King of Prussia; they greatly preferred to retain their own sovereignty, which they had held since the dissolution of the Empire in 1806. A sovereign federal government

would be irreconcilable with local sovereignty; to establish it would necessitate the destruction of the petty sovereigns. Now, in 1813, the Allies had preferred to detach them from Napoleon, by guaranteeing them their lands and titles by treaties; the King of Saxony, who had no treaty, had been saved by the plenipotentaries of the Congress of Vienna (see p. 8). There could, therefore, be no thought of restoring the Empire, or even of establishing a federal state.

Austria and Prussia drew up a scheme. The petty princes, unwilling to let the two great German powers determine the organization of Germany, agreed to sign the note of the 32 "minor states" (February 2, 1815), demanding a general congress of all the German states. The great states signified their assent; then, for form's sake, invited to their conferences delegates from all the sovereigns. In the *Federal Act* (June 18) "the sovereign princes and free cities" declared themselves united by a permanent alliance, to be known as the Germanic Confederation (Deutscher Bund).

The aim was defined as "the maintenance of external and internal security and the independence and integrity of the individual states," but they avoided defining the powers of the federal government.

The Confederation had but one organ, the Federal Assembly or Diet (Bundesversammlung), a permanent conference of envoys from all the governments, sitting at Frankfort under the presidency of the Austrian delegate. They were not deputies with freedom of voting, but officers sent by their government with precise instructions and obliged to ask instructions before each vote. In ordinary affairs they acted under the name of the *Engere Rath;* the great states had each a vote, the others uniting in groups to cast a collective vote (there were 17 votes in all). In voting on certain classes of questions (constitution, religion, and admission of new states), the Assembly voted as a *plenum*, and the number of votes assigned to each state differed according to importance (69 in all; Austria, Prussia, and the four kingdoms had each 4). But for all important affairs no decision could be made by a majority; the vote had to be unanimous in order to be effective.

The Assembly was to formulate fundamental laws and organic institutions for the Confederation with reference to its foreign, military, and domestic affairs, but each particular state controlled its own diplomacy, its army, and its government. There was

no federal court and no representative of the Confederation in foreign states. In practice the princes remained sovereigns and the Assembly was only the congress of their ambassadors.

The Assembly was to open September 1, 1815, but it awaited the settlement of the frontier questions between states; it met the following summer, but did not actually open until November 5, 1816; popular interest in it began to languish. In the early days of its session a number of delegates tried to present projects, but it soon became apparent that the Assembly was so organized that it could not reach any decision. Every question must wait for the consent of each government; the government that did not wish to have a question settled did not need to answer, but only to refrain from answering. The middle states especially, jealous of their sovereignty, hindered every motion. The slowness of the Assembly became proverbial; several instances of it are still famous. The lawyers and legal agents of the old imperial court made a claim for salaries due from 1806 to 1816, which was granted in 1831; the creditors of the fund for converting the debts contracted in the wars from 1792 to 1801 were paid in 1843; the liquidation of the debts for the Thirty Years War was completed, at the end of two centuries, in 1850. The most urgent matter was the organization of military defence: now, the plans for regulating the army were not drawn up until 1821, and not applied until 1840; the forces furnished by the states were organized in 1831, 1835, and 1836, and were never united; the federal fortresses, of which France had paid the cost in 1815, were not yet constructed in 1825; the Confederation was waiting to choose between Ulm and Rastadt.

The Assembly met often, appointed many committees (there were as many as 30 at once), with much solemnity of procedure, like the old Diet; but it had no power whatever, and became the laughing stock of Germany and of all Europe.

The Individual Governments and Constitutions.—Each prince, being a sovereign, arranged his government to suit himself. Those who drafted the plan for the constitution had proposed securing to subjects certain guarantees by Article 13: "There must be established within one year a system of assemblies of estates." But in the final draft they omitted the one-year limit, and replaced the phrase "There must" (*Es soll*) by "There will be" a system of Estates (*Es wird*). The Liberals ridiculed this formula: "that is not a law," they said; "it is a prophecy."

They had purposely employed an ancient term, *Landständische*

Verfassung (organization based on the Estates), to avoid the revolutionary term *constitution*. The universally admitted principle is that the prince alone possesses the sovereignty, but that he has the right to let his subjects share in the government. The government of each state, therefore, depended on the personal wishes of the prince. Germany was divided between three systems.

1. In the pure absolutist system, the Prince governed alone with his ministers and officers, without any restraint, without any assembly of subjects. This was the *régime* of the most powerful states, Austria and Prussia; several princes of the north copied them. The best known of these was the Elector of Hesse, the only one that bore the old title of Elector, deprived of its significance since the breaking up of the Empire. He had at first convoked an assembly, but dismissed it in 1816 and governed alone. He had been driven out in 1806, but he pretended to recognise nothing that had been accomplished during his absence; he re-established his old laws, corvées, and corporations; he restored his civil servants to their former places, his military officers to their former ranks; ordered his soldiers to wear their hair in queue (*zopf*) as formerly, and took back the princely domains that had been sold as national property. The confederation remonstrated with him, for the purchasers of national property had been guaranteed by treaties; he replied that he admitted no intervention in the administration of his state.

2. The majority of the princes of northern Germany (Hanover, Mecklenburg, Saxony, later Oldenburg) adopted a system of assemblies of estates (Landstände). They made no promises to their subjects, but they convoked the traditional assembly of notables of the land, composed chiefly of nobles, and ordered them, according to ancient custom, to vote taxes and guarantee loans. The assembly made use of this opportunity to present claims; but it was only a concession granted to public opinion, not a real controlling power over the administration. In Hanover, the government could not arrange with the nobles to put in one fund the proceeds of the domain and the taxes, and accomplished its reforms by ordinance. It finally, in 1819, transformed the assembly by dividing it into two houses, nobles and commons. It forbade the publication of debates, and only permitted the publication of extracts from the journal which were so uninteresting that they found few purchasers. In Mecklenburg, the legislature consisted of representatives of the nobles and privileged municipalities; the nobles were the controlling power, filled all

offices, and maintained their absolute power over the peasants. Every proprietor of a noble estate was master on his own land; he exercised justice and police, and the right to grant or refuse change of domicile. In Saxony the King, absorbed in the maintenance of his rank, never went out on foot and never spoke to anyone beneath the rank of colonel. The government refused the assembly information on financial affairs and forbade published reports of debates. In Oldenburg, the Grand Duke declared that before organizing the assembly it would be well to observe the success of such institutions in other countries.

3. A number of princes, mainly in the south, decided to grant written constitutions in imitation of France, with a body of elective representatives empowered to vote laws and taxes proposed by the government. They had no intention of establishing a parliamentary government; the prince remained sovereign, choosing his ministers independently of the majority, and even reserving to himself the right of proposing new laws. It was simply a constitutional monarchy, according to Tory doctrine, as under Louis XVIII.

The example was given by the most liberal of the German princes, the patron of learning, the Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar. He granted his subjects a constitution, and placed it under the protection of the Confederation by recognising the right of the federal power to use all means of constraint upon himself and his people if either side should fail in keeping their engagements. He established an assembly of deputies, knights, cities, and peasants meeting in a single asembly with the power of passing on the budget, voting laws and taxes, and of demanding redress of grievances. He guaranteed freedom of the press, emancipating it wholly from the censorship.

The other princes hesitated long before adopting a system looked on with disfavour by the governments of the chief states. But all those of southern Germany finally granted written constitutions which established a representative body with the right of voting laws and taxes, also guaranteeing individual liberty and equality before the law: Bavaria (May, 1818), Baden (August, 1818), Wurtemburg (1819), Hesse-Darmstadt (1820). There were also constitutions in Nassau, Brunswick, and some small Saxon duchies. In Wurtemburg the King had granted a representative constitution as early as 1815, but the Estates, which held him in contempt, demanded the previous constitution; a conflict followed which lasted, under his successor, until 1819.

Parties in Germany.—In all the countries, the mass of the German people, accustomed to absolute government, remained indifferent to public affairs, and even among cultivated men only a few dared to express an opinion. Those who occupied themselves with political matters were divided into three groups corresponding to the three forms of government established in Germany.

The absolutists acknowledged no other power than the Prince and his officers; they condemned every form of constitution as a revolutionary innovation, every representative assembly as an institution of disorder, every sort of constraint as an insult to the sovereign. The theory had been formulated with logical rigour by a Swiss convert to absolutism, L. von Haller, in his "Restoration of Political Science" (1816), a sort of refutation of Rousseau's "Social Contract." Haller rejected natural rights, social contract, and sovereignty of the people as contrary to history. Historically, he said, the origin of the European state has been in property-holding; every country belongs to a prince, a Church, or a corporation, and the people are only a body of tenants settled on the land. Even if the people should disappear, the state would continue; the prince would only have to procure new subjects to adorn his estates. The state being a private estate, the prince was an absolutely independent proprietor; he charged his personal servants to govern the people of his estate; he charged his soldiers to defend them; he paid expenses with his personal revenue. The aim of the state is the prince and his family. The subjects are not citizens, they have no right to busy themselves with affairs of the state; they must either obey or leave the country. This book was received with enthusiasm by the Prince Royal of Prussia. The absolutist doctrine was that of the Prussian and Austrian nobles, the majority of the German princes, ministers, and clergy. The absolutists were naturally hostile to the press and to university education, which they accused of propagating ideas of resistance and constraint of the sovereign.

The party of historic rights did not contest the prince's sovereignty; they scorned written constitutions, as contrary to tradition, and recognised only rights established by custom; but under this title they demanded the re-establishment of the old assemblies of estates that voted the taxes and controlled the provincial administration. They were a liberal aristocratic party, admirers of the Tory government. Their principal representatives were Germans of the north, university professors: Niebuhr,

professor at Bonn, who condemned the French Revolution; Dahlmann, professor at Kiel, secretary of the Holstein nobility in their struggle against their sovereign, the King of Denmark. (See chap. xviii.) The historic rights party, the one which the German historians now regard with most respect, was then the smallest, most scattered, and least popular and influential with the masses.

The constitutional party, on the contrary, invoked natural rights and sovereignty of the people; they demanded a constitution which should guarantee to citizens freedom against abuse of power by officials and clergy, and legal equality against the pretensions of the aristocracy; they wanted a government controlled by the nation's representatives, masters of legislation and taxation. They were a liberal democratic party, admirers of the French Revolution. The members were chiefly Germans of the south and west who had experienced the rule or influence of France. German historians to-day, with scornful pity, reproach this party with having been the dupe of revolutionary Utopians, at variance with history. But this party, though afterward ridiculed, comprised almost all the cultivated and literary Germans of the day. Its most popular representatives were Rotteck, professor at the University of Freiburg, and Welcker, authors of a "Universal History." Rotteck ("On Assemblies of Estates," 1819) declared that to the people belongs the sovereignty by reason of *natural rights;* the government is simply its delegate, the state assemblies represent the people and must exercise the powers that the nation has reserved to itself.

Public opinion in favour of a constitution grew so strong that the princes of South Germany decided to grant written constitutions and to introduce the constitutional system into all their states. The people then had to improvise a staff of deputies, without parliamentary pay. The country was too poor to furnish them; there were few great landowners, few manufacturers, few lawyers. Government office-holders at this time were almost the only members of the educated classes, and the voters had to choose many of their representatives from among them. These deputies, who were also office-holders, found themselves in a contradictory position, between the duty of obeying their government and that of defending the interests of their constituents. It was admitted that an office-holder elected to the Chamber might keep his liberty of opinion and divide his allegiance, obeying the government in his executive capacity, opposing it in his legisla-

tive capacity; and the opposition was composed, or at least controlled, by office-holders. The government often profited by this to intimidate the opposition by threats, or even employed a more direct process, refusing to give them leave of absence to sit in the Chamber.

Between the absolutists and constitutionalists the opposition was complete and plainly irreconcilable. The absolutists trusted in Metternich, the declared opponent of any change of any constitution, and of popular representation; they naturally sympathized with Austria. The liberals would have been glad to rest on Prussia, Austria's rival, but the King of Prussia was an absolutist who had broken his promise to give his own people a constitution. (See chap. xiv.) The liberals therefore came to detest Prussia even more than Austria. Heine said that Metternich was at least a loyal enemy, while the King of Prussia was a hypocritical enemy. The constitutionalists could look for no other support than that of the princes of South Germany or of foreigners; they therefore became particularists and admirers of the French (which has drawn down upon them the scorn of German historians).

The educated Germans found themselves drawn in two directions. They wanted a liberal, united Germany: now the only states strong enough to bring about a union were opposed to liberty; the liberal *régime* could be established only in the small states. Patriotism drew the Germans toward union, but liberalism drew them toward independence for the smaller states. The national movement was not in harmony with the liberal movement. So political life in Germany was very confused until 1848. It turned on conflicts between the subjects and their own particular governments, between the subjects and the federal government, between the state governments and the federal government. This period is filled with small and unimportant events, interesting rather for the history of ideas and literature than for political history. Three attempts at reform were made, all put down by the governments.

University Persecution.—The "War of Liberation" against France had produced a patriotic movement among the students. Many of them had enlisted in the German armies. After the victory they vaguely hoped to see the old united Germany reestablished under liberal forms. Absolutism and cutting up into little states they considered a mistake. This discontent and desire for national unity produced different manifestations: gym-

nastics, the *Burschenschaft*, secret societies, and all sorts of childish and aimless manifestations, whose importance the governments concerned wilfully exaggerated, using them as bugbears to frighten the friends of order. Hence the disproportionate position that they occupy in the attention of contemporaries, and still occupy in German histories.

1. Gymnastics were a form of patriotism: their object was to prepare robust generations for the defence of their country. This idea was embodied in a person regarded with a mixture of mockery and respect, Jahn, a Prussian peasant belonging to the light infantry of Lützow, who after the war opened at Berlin a school for gymnastics. He had come to Paris with a knotty stick, long hair, and bare neck, for "the linen cravat did not suit the free German." He used great familiarity with his pupils, slapped their faces to awaken their thoughts, and made them exercise in jackets of raw linen, with long hair and bare necks. In vacations he took them off, each shouldering an axe, making them camp at night, and feeding them on bread and milk. If they met a dandy dressed in the French fashion, or an inscription in French, they circled about it, pointing and groaning. For Jahn had a horror of France; he would have liked to separate Germany from it by a vast forest peopled with monsters. He avoided every word of French extraction, and used only Germanic words. His disciples formed a "society for the German language," which replaced French words by their German equivalents: *Universität* became *Vernunftturnplatz* (gymnasium of reason). Jahn had no further political ideas, and almost all his pupils came from among young men educated in the secondary schools.

2. The *Burschenschaft* was an association of students, designed to cultivate among its members religious sentiment, virtuous principles, and patriotic devotion. The *Burschen* (comrades) wore a sombre costume with a high collar, "the Germanic-Christian dress"; they had adopted the colours of the volunteers of 1813, red, black, and gold; they met to sing patriotic songs. They had organized themselves on a new principle in the German universities. The former associations (which still exist in all the German universities), as their official name (*Landmannschaft*) indicates, were simply little groups of students from the same province who met for amusement, to drink together, and fight duels, without any idea beyond. The *Burschenschaft* now became a general association of all German students

and contributed to the formation of national sentiment. It was founded after 1815 at Jena, and chiefly by students from the small states of central Germany. The Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar had become the centre of the national liberal movement since the Grand Duke had granted his people a constitution and freedom of the press; the principal political organs were published there: the *Nemesis*, the *Isis*, and the *Oppositionsblatt*. Jena, the University of the Grand Duchy, and Weimar, the Grand Duke's residence, were then the centres of intellectual political activity in Germany.

The professors and the liberal journalists of the Grand Duchy organized a festival at the Wartburg, October, 1817, for the joint celebration of the religious anniversary of the Reformation and the patriotic anniversary of the battle of Leipzig. It was an official festival with delegates from the universities, authorized by the government of Weimar; Luther's hymn was sung, and the professors made speeches that could hardly be called political. But in the evening the students lighted a bonfire; some of Jahn's students threw old books in the flames, at the same time shouting the names of the works their leader most disliked, those of Kotzebue and Haller, the Napoleonic code, and the Prussian code of mounted police. They added as military symbols a belt from the uniform of the Prussian guard, a Hessian soldier's queue, and the baton of an Austrian corporal, and burned them, shouting: "*Pere, Pereat!*" (a student's refrain answering to "To —— with!").

This childish performance was talked of all over Germany, and in the political stagnation of the time it had the look of a student revolt against the authorities. Metternich represented it as a product of the Revolution. A Roumanian seigneur, Stourdza, denounced the universities to the Tsar as hotbeds of conspiracy. The Grand Duke of Weimar was obliged to establish a censorship of the press in his state.

3. Secret societies were in fashion all over Europe. The oldest in Germany, the famous *Tugendbund*, formed in Prussia about 1809 to resist the French, had been ordered to disband by the Prussian government, but Metternich still spoke of it as a powerful association. He wished to embarrass Prussia by giving it the name of a nest of revolutionists. After 1815 secret societies in Germany were few and short-lived; even the Free Masons were inactive there. The only society that seems to have been purely political had its headquarters at Giessen, uni-

versity town of a small state, Hesse-Darmstadt; it had formulated a constitution based on the sovereignty of the people. Sand, the melancholy student-lunatic who assassinated Kotzebue, the Tsar's emissary, was a member of this society. A Nassau student of pharmacy attempted to assassinate the head of the government of Nassau (1819).*

These isolated crimes were used by Metternich to frighten the governments, by convincing them of the existence of a widespread conspiracy, and to induce them to join in measures of suppression. Delegates from the principal governments met at Carlsbad and made decisions which the Federal Assembly ratified in four days; these were the Carlsbad decrees (1819). The German princes who had refused to make any arrangements for the common interests of their people, accepted without discussion a common action against the enemies of the monarchy—the universities, the press, and the liberals. The decrees authorized the princes to dissolve the *Burschenschaft* and the gymnastic societies, to establish *curators* in each university to oversee the students and professors, and to establish a censorship to examine every newspaper and pamphlet before allowing them to be printed. A federal committee of seven members was appointed, to sit at Mainz and organize an inquiry into "the origin and ramifications of revolutionary conspiracies and demagogic associations."

This system was perfected at the Conference of Vienna (1820). Metternich would have liked even to abolish the liberal constitutions of the southern states as contrary to the Act of Confederation. He dared not suggest it, but he secured an adjustment of reciprocal rights of the states of the Confederation by this clause: "As the Confederation consists of sovereign princes, the whole power of the state should remain vested in the head of the state, and the sovereign cannot be bound by a state legislature when acting as a member of the federation, except in the exercise of determined rights." They dared not close the debates of the Chambers to the public, but they decided that "the legal limits to the free expression of opinion must not be exceeded either in debate or in publications in such a way as to endanger the peace of the particular state or of Germany." There was also talk of destroying or annulling the last remaining organ of political life, the representative assembly.

* Treitschke, deceived by the false account given by Muench, believed there was a revolutionary conspiracy.

The committee of investigation discovered no conspiracy whatever, not even a criminal act, except a small pamphlet. But the governments, especially in Prussia, imprisoned and condemned to confinement in fortresses a number of students who had sung patriotic songs or worn the black, red, and gold colours, and even a collegian for having drawn a picture of a devil eating a king.

The Opposition of the Constitutional States of the South.—Since the Conference of Vienna the governments of the southern states had protested against the plan of suppressing the constitutions. They presented themselves as the defenders of political liberty against the two great absolutist states, Austria and Prussia. The movement was directed by Wangenheim, who represented the King of Wurtemburg in the Diet. The *Manifesto of Southern Germany*, published in 1820 by order of the King of Wurtemburg, was supposed to be the manifesto of this party. The leading idea is that the true Germany is the Germany of the Middle Ages—the old duchies west of the Elbe; Austria and Prussia are only half German colonies. The Confederation has done wrong to assure the domination of these two half foreign and absolutist powers over true liberal Germans; it should give the power to old Germany.

The contest between the liberal governments of the southwest and the great eastern states was carried into the Federal Assembly. At first the southern states secured the adoption of the military regulation of 1821, dividing the German army into independent bodies, against the King of Prussia, who demanded the command of the northern contingents. Then the Wurtemburg delegate openly protested against the Mainz committee of investigation, the decisions of the Congress of Verona, and the absolutist elector of Hesse. The governments of the large states, wearied with this opposition, finally withdrew their envoys from the court of Wurtemburg; the King became alarmed and recalled Wangenheim. The opposition ceased. The governments reorganized the Federal Diet and decided that debates should not be published. Then the delegates from the German princes met at Johannisberg, in Metternich's castle, and drew up resolutions which the Diet voted in August, 1824. Not only did they renew the decrees of 1819 against the press and the universities, but they empowered themselves to oversee the state assemblies and prevent their "threatening monarchical principles."

After this the Diet met but seldom until 1830. The news-

papers were forbidden any political discussions; people did not dare talk politics. German attention, turned aside from home affairs, directed itself to foreign countries, Greek insurgents and French liberals.

Movements of 1830.—From 1815 to 1830 the opinions of educated Germans had been transformed; they had lost their horror of France and Napoleon; they detested the absolutist powers, Austria and Prussia, and transferred their enthusiasm to the nations that defended their liberty, especially to France and Poland. Rotteck said that in case of conflict between constitutional France and the absolutist states of Germany, all liberal Germans would side with France. They were less interested in German unity than in political liberty. They wanted especially the institutions of free countries, legislative chambers controlling the budget, freedom of the press, jury trial, a national guard which would place force in the hands of the people. There were even republicans like Börne and Heine, both of whom admired France and hated Prussia.

The Revolution of 1830 encouraged the German liberals; in the small states where the government was worst they organized demonstrations, and frightened the princes into granting constitutions in Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel (1831), Saxony, Hanover, and in two Saxon duchies. In the constitutional states of the south, especially in Baden and Bavaria, political interest revived and censorship was relaxed; there even appeared democratic publications supporting the Polish rebels against the Tsar.

This liberty lasted until the governments felt themselves in danger. In 1832, after the suppression of the Polish government, they felt reassured; the Diet condemned the abuses of the press and put down several liberal organs. The democrats, for the purpose of resisting the coalition of princes, founded a *Press Union* with the object of indemnifying persecuted journalists and spreading the plan of an agreement for the establishment of a German Empire with a democratic constitution. The centre of the movement was situated in a country adjoining France, the Bavarian Palatinate. The Union distributed pamphlets, held meetings, and organized the "German May" festival at Hambach Castle (May 27, 1832). A great crowd gathered, including Poles and Frenchmen; from the great tower floated the red, black, and gold flag (the *Burschenschaft* flag, now become the symbol of German unity) and from a turret the Polish flag. There were songs, speeches, toasts to the Fatherland, the sovereignty of the

people, the United States of Germany, and Republican Europe. The Hambach festival, like the previous one at the Wartburg, was used by Metternich to frighten the Diet into voting the decrees of 1832. This time he secured what had always been refused him before: a federal committee was appointed to oversee the Chambers of Deputies; the Diet declared void in advance every constitutional plan which threatened monarchical principles and promised armed intervention in every state where the subjects refused to pay taxes. It forbade political societies, meetings, liberty-trees, cockades, and other emblems of liberty; it renewed the decrees of 1819 and 1824. It annulled the press law of the Grand Duchy of Baden as contrary to federal decisions. The government of Baden tried to defend itself; it asked help of Louis Philippe, but failed to get it, and finally changed the press law. In Wurtemburg, Hesse, and Nassau the Chambers were dissolved and the liberal publications suspended.

The liberal party broke up on the question of future policy. The moderate liberals wanted to continue their opposition by legal methods. The radicals were labouring to overthrow the absolutist governments with the aid of French and Polish revolutionists; they formed secret societies which were joined by students and subordinate military officers. The conspirators were counting on aid from the Polish refugees of Besançon and the Alsatian national guard. A mob of fifty men attempted to seize Frankfort, the seat of the Federal Diet (April, 1833), and were scattered or arrested.

This gave rise to a new form of persecution. The Diet appointed a central committee, which lasted until 1842, to oversee the investigations aimed against the revolutionists, forbade the publication of political debates, and the entrance of any person into Germany or Switzerland without a passport. Metternich declared that the root of the evil was in "the faction which was seeking to introduce in the form of the representative system the modern idea of popular sovereignty." He would have liked to establish a federal police; the individual governments found their own police sufficient.

In Prussia, twenty-nine students were condemned to death, and their sentences later commuted to imprisonment in fortresses. One of them, Fritz Reuter, has told the story of his captivity in Low German dialect in a famous romance. In Hesse, Jordan, the leader of the liberals in the Chamber, was arrested and detained six years in prison without trial, then tried and acquitted.

In Baden, Rotteck and Welcker were suspended from their professorships. In Bavaria, a journalist, after four years of preventive imprisonment, was condemned to make a public apology before the King's portrait and to suffer indefinite confinement for reprinting a certain article from another paper.

This persecution crushed liberal agitation and political interest in Germany. From 1833 to 1847 there was no further political incident, except in 1837 the affair of the seven professors. The King of Hanover had abrogated the Constitution of 1833 because it prevented his paying his debts with state funds; seven professors of Göttingen declared themselves bound to the constitution by their oath of allegiance; the King deprived them of their positions; a society was founded at Leipzic to raise subscriptions for them all over Germany.

The National Movement since 1840.—The Diet, the only institution common to all Germany, had manifested its activity only by persecutions, and had created nothing but a political police; it therefore became hateful to educated Germans. The idea of replacing it by a real national government had been expressed by several isolated writers: Gagern of Hesse, a delegate to the Diet in 1815; Welcker of Baden; Pfizer of Wurtemburg. Their sentiments and wishes were summed up in these two sentences: "Nationality is the first condition of humanity, as the body is the condition of the soul" (Pfizer). The "Confederation of States" (*Staatenbund*), united by too loose a bond, must give place to a "Federal State" (*Bundesstaat*), strongly united.* Pfizer added that this new state must be directed by the King of Prussia assisted by an elective parliament. This dream of national unity agreed with the desire of Prussian office-holders to increase Prussia's power (expressed by minister Bernstorff in a memorial to the King in 1831).

In 1840 an incident in European politics was made the occasion of a manifestation of German patriotism. The four great powers, the old "Allies" of 1815, had just united against France to settle the Eastern question. In the French Chamber there was talk of breaking the treaties of 1815 and even of reconquering the Rhine boundary. This produced an agitation against

* As early as 1818 the French ambassador Reinhard, in a report to his government, said: "It is of European importance that Germany should be united by a bond that can resist the demands of the moment. That does not seem to me possible, until the confederation of the German states shall become a federal state."

France in Germany, in the form of patriotic songs; it was at this time that Becker's *German Rhine* was composed ("They shall not have our free German Rhine") and immediately sung all over Germany, and the *Wacht am Rhein*, which remained unnoticed for thirty years, when it became the national anthem in the war of 1870. The patriotic movement won even the princes; Becker received a pension from the King of Prussia and an order from the King of Bavaria. The Diet decided to draw up the regulation of the Federal army. In 1842 the placing of the last stone of the Cologne Cathedral was made a national festival of princes under the presidency of the King of Prussia; the King of Wurtemburg proposed a toast to "our fatherland."

Among the university professors public life took the form of aspirations toward unity. The Germanist Congress held at Frankfort in 1846 was at once a meeting of scholars (philologists, historians, and jurists) and an assembly of patriots; they discussed national questions and a German parliament. There was also a professor, Gervinus, who in 1847 founded at Heidelberg the *Deutsche Zeitung*, a political newspaper, liberal and national, designed for all Germany.

The meeting of the Prussian "United Landtag" in 1847 at length gave the largest of the German states a means of taking part in politics (see chap. xiv). The Chambers of the southern states, benumbed by the decrees of 1834, became active once more. The southern liberals put themselves in relations with those of Prussia. But, as in 1832, upon the course to pursue they could not agree.

The democratic radicals, who had their centre at Mannheim, in Baden, held an assembly (September 12, 1847) at Offenburg, and adopted as their platform liberty of the press and of association, jury trial, national guard, progressive taxation, military oath of allegiance to the constitution, and a representative assembly of the people by the side of the Diet.

The moderate constitutionalists, meeting at Heppenheim October 10, decided simply to lay before the Chambers of the individual states resolutions calling for the creation of a German parliament.

The Revolution of 1848 in Germany.—The national movement suddenly developed into revolution through the example of France. (There was a small local revolt in Bavaria early in February, 1848.) At the news of the Paris revolution, the liberals organized public metings, and demanded liberty of the

press, the parliamentary system, and a German parliament. The governments were stupefied and dared not resist them.

The advocates of unity took advantage of this confusion to attempt the transformation of Germany into a federal state. The movement, as usual, came from the south, the state of Baden; 51 liberals met at Heidelberg (March 5), decided to call an assembly to draft schemes of reform, and appointed a committee of seven members.

The committee of seven called together at Frankfort the *Vorparlament*, or preparatory parliament, composed of all the men who had sat as deputies in a German chamber; from five to six hundred of them came, most of them from the south (as it was the southern states especially that had chambers), some Prussians and a few Austrians.

The Diet continued to sit, but the governments had replaced their delegates by popular men who aided the liberal cause. It adopted the insigma of the national party: the red, black, and gold standard of the *Burschenschaft*, now become the official flag of Germany (March 9). It accepted all the propositions of the *Vorparlament*, and transformed them into decisions which the governments executed. It convoked a genuine parliament, to be elected in the proportion of 1 deputy to each 50,000 inhabitants, from all the German states, not simply those that had formed the Confederation, but even the German provinces of Prussia and Austria outside of the Confederation (Silesia, western and eastern Prussia, the German districts of Posnania, and Bohemia). In spite of its English name, the parliament was a Constitutional Convention (*constituante*) in imitation of France, elected by universal suffrage and convoked for the express purpose of ordaining the German constitution.

The Frankfort Parliament.—The electors chose the leaders of the former liberal and national oppositions, a large number of whom were professors and writers. The parliament came together at Frankfort, the seat of the Diet, and held its meetings in St. Paul's Church. It was supposed to have 605 members; but the Czechs of Bohemia had refused to send delegates to a German assembly—so there were only 586 deputies. The Prussian provinces had, on the contrary, sent their delegates.

It was a tumultuous assemblage; the deputies had had no experience in debate; they all wanted to present their plans; the president, Gagern, the old champion of unity, did not know how to maintain order; he was perpetually wrangling with members

and allowed the galleries to applaud or make noisy protestation.

The parliament found itself in an unprecedented situation: having met for the final organization of the German government in the name of the German people, it had only a moral authority; the old governments all remained standing and retained their strength. This contradiction between its functions and its means of action rendered it powerless: it resembled a congress of scholars discussing constitutional theories; it could propose plans, but the governments alone could decide upon them.

It began by organizing a provisional federal government to replace the Diet, now become irremediably unpopular. The discussion was stormy, with 9 projects and 189 orators. The proposition made by the committee to create a directory of three members appointed by the governments was rejected, as well as the republican project for an executive committee elected by the Assembly; the project of certain Prussian deputies to give the provisional government to the King of Prussia was received with "general hilarity" and not even discussed. After six days' discussion, the president proposed to choose a prince; the parliament created an "Imperial Administrator," and elected the most popular of the German princes, the Austrian Archduke John, by a large majority. The Diet transmitted its powers to him and was dissolved.

Archduke John formed an imperial ministry (justice, interior, foreign affairs, war, finances, and commerce), which began to govern according to the parliamentary system. Parties in the parliament began to be classified, and they were organized in groups designated by the names of the places where they held their meetings. They numbered eleven. The largest parties were the two Centres—the Right Centre, of about 120 members, the ministerial party, formed mainly of North Germans, divided into "Casino" and "Landsberg"; the Left Centre, formed mainly of South Germans, divided into "the Wurtemburg Hotel" and "the Augsburg Hotel."

The 200 Republican deputies formed two parties: the Moderate Left, divided into "Westendhall" and "the Nuremberg Hotel"; the Radical Left, divided into "the German House" and "Donnersberg."

The Right was cut into three groups: the North Germans, Protestants, at the Milan Café; the South Germans, Catholics, at the Stone House; the Austrians.

The two centres, together with the unclassified members (the *Wilde*, or savages), had a small majority.

The parliament, charged with the organization of the German federal state, began to discuss the constitution. It had to solve three general practical questions: 1. What should be the form of the federal government? 2. What countries should enter the federal state? 3. To what prince should the federal power be intrusted? There was no majority except on the first question; it was agreed to settle it at once, beginning with the "fundamental rights" (Grundrechte) of German citizens. The liberals predominated; they secured the adoption of the principles of the Belgian Constitution, the model of liberal constitutions of the period: equality before the law, judicial independence, communal autonomy, popular representation in each state, freedom of the press, of association, of religion, and of education. After three months' discussion the project was carried through its first stage (October, 1848).*

During this time the ministry ordered the soldiers of the federal army to take the oath of allegiance to the Imperial Administrator (August 6); the majority of the governments did not obey it. The parliament, by a majority of 238 against 221, decided to interfere against Denmark in favour of the Germans of Holstein (September 5), which led to the dismissal of the ministry, and then made an opposite decision by a majority of 258 against 226 (September 16), which led to the return of the ministry. A number of Republican deputies then wished to take advantage of the indignation against the 258 "traitors" to proclaim the Republic and dissolve the parliament. But the ministry summoned the Prussian and Austrian troops, and the Republican uprising of Frankfort produced nothing but the assassination of two deputies of the Right.

The government had decided to replace the Confederation, with its absolutist principles, by a federal state with a liberal constitution; it had begun by making the constitutional plan of new Germany before fixing its limits and selecting its chief. Two other questions remained: What territory should be included? Who should exercise the central power? These were no mere theoretical definitions of rights; two practical measures must be adopted, and neither could be adopted without offending one

* The parliament had also to occupy itself with a particular federal question, the affair of the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein. (See chap. xviii.)

of the two great powers that were in control, Austria or Prussia. The centres of the parliament, after having worked together on constitutional questions, broke apart when it became necessary to choose between Austria and Prussia. A new grouping of parties was made.

The question of territory was insoluble. Neither Austria nor Prussia was exclusively German. The parliament decided that foreign provinces could not enter the German federal state; they could be joined to German states only by a personal union (October 27). This decision, without satisfying Austria, irritated Prussia, on account of the province of Posen. But the insoluble difficulty came from Austria, whose German population was a decided minority. The Austrian government was unwilling to break up the Empire by separating the German provinces from the Magyar, Slav, and Italian provinces. It wished to enter the new state with all its possessions; it therefore asked that the parliament should "leave in supense" Austria's relations with Germany until Austria should have ordered her own future, which meant not to make the constitution of the whole until the Emperor of Austria should have made one for his own states. The parliament had the choice of two solutions: either admit the whole Austrian Empire into the Confederation, which would have meant to renounce federal unity and content itself with a tie sufficiently loose to include non-German peoples; or to organize a federal government strongly knit together and leaving out the German provinces of Austria, which would be to renounce German unity.

The parliament and the German people divided into two parties. The Great Germany (*Grossdeutsche*) party, in order to preserve German unity, resigned themselves to union with Austria —the traditional sentiment expressed in Arndt's famous patriotic song: "What is the German fatherland? . . . As far as the German tongue is heard." They could not imagine a German fatherland that shut out the Tyrolese and Austrians. The Little Germany (*Kleindeutsche*) party, in order to create a real federal state, resigned themselves to the reduction of territory involved in the exclusion of Austria. This question of limitation was allied to the question of the central power. If the German Confederation should admit Austria, it could have no other head than the Emperor of Austria, who was superior in title, traditional rights, and in the importance of his possessions; if the federal state should be constituted without Austria, the King of Prussia

alone could be the head. Thus the Great Germany party was an Austrian party, the Little Germany a Prussian party.

After some very lively contests the Prussian party prevailed. The parliament, by 261 votes against 224, authorized the imperial ministry to enter into diplomatic relations with Austria, thus declaring that Austria was considered a foreign state. The Centres had voted for Little Germany, the extreme Republicans and the Right for Great Germany (January 13, 1849).

This decision involved an answer to the last question, that of the central power. The parliament voted by a majority of 258 against 211: "The dignity of the supreme chief of the Empire should be intrusted to one of the reigning German princes," and by a majority of 9 votes only: "This chief shall bear the title of *Emperor of the Germans.*" Two months later the government of Austria proposed that the whole Austrian Empire, with its 30,000,000 inhabitants, should enter the Confederation, and should have 38 votes against 32 for all the rest of Germany. A number of deputies, indignant at this officiousness, left the Austrian party; the parliament declared the Empire hereditary, and by 290 votes elected the King of Prussia to be Emperor of the Germans (March 28).

The execution of parliamentary decisions, however, depended on the individual governments. The King of Prussia wanted the Imperial Crown, but he wanted to receive it from the princes, his equals, not from an assembly of subjects. That which the parliament was offering him he called "a crown of mud and wood," and said: "If anyone is to award the crown of the German nation, it is myself and my equals who shall give it." He officially declared himself unable to accept until he should have conferred with the princes and examined the constitution. The parliament had to choose between the constitution and the King of Prussia; the majority decided to stand by the constitution. The King asked the advice of the other governments. Twenty-eight states accepted the constitution, the hereditary Empire, and the election; the four Kings (Bavaria, Wurtemburg, Saxony, and Hanover) rejected the election, not wishing to be subject to the King of Prussia, their equal. Austria broke openly with the parliament and withdrew her deputies. The King of Prussia was alarmed and refused the Empire absolutely (April 28, 1849).

The parliament, deserted by Prussia, decided (by 190 votes against 188) to promulgate the constitution in spite of the princes, and to convoke the electors for July 15. It was then the Repub-

licans who became the defenders of the constitution and tried to force the governments to recognise it. There had been already two Republican insurrections in the Grand Duchy of Baden in 1848. In May, 1849, there were risings in the Kingdom of Prussia (Rhine province, Breslau, and Königsberg), the Kingdom of Saxony (Dresden), the Grand Duchy of Baden, and the Bavarian Palatinate. The King of Saxony and the Grand Duke of Baden fled and asked help from the King of Prussia. The Prussian guard took Dresden after two days' fighting. The governments recalled their deputies from Frankfort; the Imperialists retired; only the determined Republicans remained.

The parliament, reduced to 105 members, almost all of whom were south Germans, moved to Stuttgart (June 6), and elected an Imperial Regency of 5 members. But it soon came into conflict with the government of Wurtemburg, which closed the hall and dispersed the deputies. The Baden insurgents had formed a provisional government which controlled Baden and the Palatinate; they had with them a number of rebel regiments. A Prussian army arrived; there was a genuine war; the insurgents were conquered and dispersed; the councils of war had a part of the prisoners shot. Many Republicans fled to Switzerland, France, and America. This repression had lasting effect: the Republican party, very numerous in southern Germany, was exterminated, and has never been entirely reorganized. (On socialist parties in Germany from 1848 to 1850, see chap. xxiv.)

The Prussian Union.—The attempt to establish a German federal state by a national assembly had failed; the Prussian government tried to revive it by an understanding with the governments. It had now prestige in the eyes of the princes for having fought and crushed the revolution. It was free from Austria, which was absorbed with wars in Italy and Hungary. It proposed to organize a provisional government and to revise the constitution voted by the parliament in order to cut out the excessively democratic clauses. This was all discussed at the Conference of Berlin, May 17, 1849. But again the same question came up that had faced the parliament: What should be the position of the Emperor of Austria in the new state? Prussia proposed to create a federative state, headed by the King of Prussia, who would later conclude a wider alliance with Austria. The Austrian government immediately retired.

The two North German Kings, Hanover and Saxony, not daring to refuse openly, concluded a one-year alliance with Prussia.

The Prussian plan of constitution established a government with two Chambers: *Chamber of the states*, composed of 160 delegates from the governments; *Chamber of the people*, composed of elective deputies. Seventeen German states accepted the terms, but the two Kings of Wurtemburg and Bavaria refused to yield to them. The Prussian national party, however, had still some hopes of seeing the union realized. One hundred and fifty former members of the Centres in the Frankfort parliament met at Gotha, to come to an agreement on a plan for aiding Prussia by sacrificing the constitution voted in 1849.

But the King of Prussia personally hesitated at leaning on an elective Assembly; he refused to convoke a parliament in 1849, and lost time in negotiation with the governments. Austria used this delay to end her Italian and Hungarian wars, and when the King of Prussia decided to call for an election, the two Kings of Saxony and Hanover, encouraged by Austria, protested; they then withdrew. The King of Prussia tried to organize a *Union* with the little states. A parliament elected by the inhabitants of these states (January, 1850) met at Erfurt in March; being composed of advocates of the Union, it voted the constitution which the Prussian government laid before it. Meanwhile the kingdoms which opposed the Union proposed an organization which should include Austria, with a directory of seven members and a parliament with an equal number of Austrian, Prussian, and German delegates. Austria accepted, Prussia refused (February-March, 1850).

The Austrian government convoked the German states at Frankfort to reorganize the old Diet. Prussia replied by convoking at Berlin a congress of the states of the Union. Meanwhile the German states were grouped into two opposing leagues: that of Berlin, which favoured the Prussian party and Little Germany; that of Frankfort, which favoured the Austrian party and Great Germany. But one by one the states deserted Prussia and joined the Frankfort conference. The King of Prussia, threatened with war with Austria, hesitated, then yielded. The Austrian government exacted the formal dissolution of the Union (November 15, 1850). Schwartzenberg said openly that "Prussia must be degraded, then demolished." (On the part played by Russia and the Conference of Olmütz, see chap. xxvi.)

German Reaction.—Now that Prussia had been forced to renounce the rôle of director, Austria proposed to the German states, that the whole Austrian Empire should come into the

Confederation. The Dresden conference made a pretence of discussing the project; but the German princes did not like it, and Austria gave it up. Finally they re-established the old Confederation as it was before 1848, and the Diet, meeting as formerly at Frankfort (May, 1851), appointed a committee to study the best means of securing domestic peace in Germany. This "reactionary committee," as it was called, recommended a revision of the new constitutions in order to cut out all revolutionary tendencies: universal suffrage and the military oath of allegiance to the constitution.

During the revolutionary period of 1848 several governments had adopted democratic constitutions, extended the right of voting to universal suffrage, established jury trial, national guard, and freedom of the press. The Diet repealed the "fundamental rights" voted by the parliament in 1849. Then the government of each state worked systematically to restore the system which had been in existence before 1848 (often called the *Vormärzische Zustände*, the system prevailing previous to March, 1848), repressing the liberal customs of every sort which their subjects had adopted during the revolution. This reaction consisted chiefly of press prosecutions, espionage of office-holders and suspected persons, dissolution of the Chambers, official pressure on voters and in the Chambers, bickerings at the frontier, passports, domiciliary visits, suppression of jury trial, special courts, government agents hired to instigate and then denounce political offences, etc. The governments sought allies in the churches, favoured professors of theology and orthodox pastors, and placed the schools under clerical direction.

The Diet, as before 1848, was directed by Austria. But the Austrian government had changed its attitude toward Prussia. The new Prussian envoy, Bismarck, described his experiences at Frankfort (1851-58) in a report which has since become famous (*Report on the necessity of inaugurating an independent Prusso-German policy*, March, 1858). Previous to 1848, he said, Austria and Prussia worked together in the Diet and "reduced its action to a small number of unimportant matters. . . Matters on which they did not agree were not brought forward. . . Since 1851, debates in the Diet present an entirely different aspect. Schwarzenberg adopted the plan of securing to Austria the leadership of Germany by the means that the Constitution of the Confederation offered." Bismarck then explained the methods of Austria's influence over the German princes, over manufacturers

and financiers, showing how she is assured of a certain majority in the Diet, and works to "enlarge the sphere of the instrument at her service" by increasing the number of affairs as to which decisions may be taken by the majority.

Thus the restored Diet served Austria as an instrument to maintain the absolutist system against the liberals, and the Confederation against the Prussian government.

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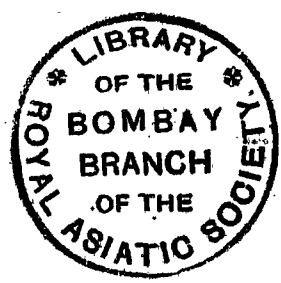

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